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Catholics and Freemasons—Not Now— Then - - - - -	3
Laurence J. Kenny	
Renaissance Educational Theory, II - - - - -	13
Daniel D. McGarry	
Teaching Social History - - - - -	31
Martin F. Hasting	
Reviews of Books - - - - -	34
Current Bibliography - - - - -	58

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The HISTORICAL BULLETIN

A Service Quarterly for Teachers and Students of History

Vol. XXXIII

November, 1954

No. 1

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INDEX OF BOOK REVIEWS

Chronicle of Jean de Venette	34
Studies in Early British History	34
European Literature in the Latin Middle Ages	35
Western Civilization	36
Pius X, A Country Priest	37
Vanguard of Nazism	38
History of France	39
Hilaire Belloc, No Alienated Man	40
Incompatible Allies	40
Modern German History	41
Gentlemen of Renaissance France	43
Churches and Temples	43
Church and Society	44
Negro in American Life and Thought	45
California in the Making	46
Bibliography of German Culture in America to 1940	47
Civil War	47
Literary History of the United States	48
Valley of Democracy	49
Books of the Colorado River and the Grand Canyon	50
Antoine Robidoux	50
America of Jose Marti	51
Traitorous Hero	52
La Conquistadora	53
Nebraska Question	54
Arthur Rue Gorman	55
Mexican Revolution—Genesis under Madero	56
Sports in American Life	57

CATHOLICS AND FREEMASONS

Not Now—Then

LAURENCE J. KENNY
SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY

An item went the rounds of the press a few years ago, reviving a three-fold tradition that George Washington died a Catholic. The revivalist was overwhelmed with something approaching obloquy even by his friends who would not lose time reading so baseless an assertion. Is it not certain beyond the shadow of a doubt, they insisted, that Washington lived and died and was buried as a Mason? Some, having read the article, apologized.

This present brief promises a greater shock. (It should have been written before the former surprise-contention.) It will maintain, and without the shadow of a doubt, that when Washington died, in 1799, he could very well, without hypocrisy, have been simultaneously both a zealous Mason and a devout Catholic. It will go much further, it will produce facts that will convince any open mind, that, in the year 1800 and for decades before and after, great numbers of persons were at the same time Freemasons and Catholics.

Every child knows that today no man can be a Catholic and a Freemason concurrently any more than he can be a Catholic and a Presbyterian or a Catholic and a Mormon. Such is the situation now. But it was not so then, in 1800. This article will show that then, among those great numbers of persons who were Catholics and Masons simultaneously, there were Catholics whose Catholicity was conspicuous; it might almost be claimed that the Catholic laymen who were Masons were, in every nation in Christendom, except Italy, the outstanding Catholics of their day.

Let us hasten to the facts. Let us see those outstanding Catholics in all the world who were good Catholics and good Masons at the same time.

Our Grand Tour should start from Philadelphia. George Washington's presidency falls within the ambit of this story. Let us go over to the Executive Mansion. The First in War and First in Peace should be the first of the interesting and famous persons, a very first acquaintance with whom will prove our thesis.

Editor's note: Father Kenny is Professor Emeritus of History at Saint Louis University. During a very long and fruitful career as a teacher he has not only helped prepare many historians, but also has published important articles in the field of American church history.

We find the President while in familiar conversation with an old time fellow statesman, Daniel Carroll, opening his morning mail. "These good nuns," Washington remarks, "entertain the common error that I am head of the Freemasons in America. I've a collection of aprons that have been kindly pinned on me wherever I appear in public, which gives ground to the notion. But as a matter of fact, I've not been in a lodge since before the war; but this apron is by far the most elegant that I've ever seen." With this he holds up the charmingly painted and embroidered silken cloth whose conventional Masonic square and compass stand out in relief.

But our interest is in the senders of the apron. It came, with high compliments, from a convent of holy nuns of Nantes, in France. It will not be imagined that these heavenly women, who were in no wise distinguished from any other of the innocents in such havens of sanctity, were themselves Masons, but their action clearly demonstrates a difference in the relation of Catholicity and Masonry, then far removed from the situation of today.

Did the nuns know that at least two Popes had already sent out severe warnings against Catholics associating with Masonic groups? Certainly the nuns did not know, but Daniel Carroll probably knew. Daniel was the brother of Bishop Carroll who certainly knew. Yet Daniel, like Washington, had been a Mason. Daniel does not occupy the same limelight in popular American history as his cousin, Charles Carroll of Carrollton. He has recently been entitled "The Unknown Statesman." He played, however, as important a part in the making of our nation as Charles. Charles signed the Declaration of Independence, but Daniel on at least three occasions presided over the Congress that made the Constitution. Some one has said that he was thus, if not nominally, actually three times president of the United States; this is true unless we hold that the United States was without a president for thirteen years, from 1776 to 1789 when Washington was inaugurated.

Holding on to the topic of Masonry, Daniel may have told Washington that he had just passed through Johnstown, New York, a week ago, and not knowing how else to spend the evening, he attended a meeting there of St. Patrick's Masonic lodge.

We nowhere hear of any reprimand by the Bishop of his brother for his Masonic membership; on the contrary it is in all his biographies, conspicuous in Guilday's authoritative life

of the future archbishop, that when the prelate was asked by one of his zealous priests whether he might give the sacraments to a Freemason, he replied—and note this well—that he did not think the papal prohibitions of Masonry applied in this country. Consequently the sacraments could not be withheld.

This fact, of course, demonstrates that all through the regions of Carroll's jurisdiction, a good Catholic,—and Daniel Carroll was an excellent one—could in those days anywhere along our Atlantic seacoast be an equally earnest Mason. (George Washington, resident in this section, could have enjoyed the Bishop's interpretation.)

Glancing through Bishop Carroll's diocese, one may encounter some pertinent and interesting phenomena. First, right here in Philadelphia the records show that the Reverend Thomas Tolentino da Silva, one of the priests of St. Mary's, the principal Catholic church, was initiated into the Meridian lodge, No. 158, as late as January 6, 1829. Perhaps the Portuguese exile did not know what he was doing.

Let us turn our gaze to Albany, the capital city of the Empire State. It is a holiday. Listen to the bands coming down the main highway. See the procession; look at the Masons, proudly wearing their little aprons. They are going to lay the cornerstone, yes, they, the Masons, are going to lay the cornerstone of St. Mary's Catholic church, the first Catholic church in Albany, New York. The square and compass, cut deeply into this cornerstone, witnessed for years thereafter that there was a genuine amity between Catholics and Masons in early New York. This, St. Mary's church was the first cathedral of Bishop (later Cardinal) McCloskey. (As a sidelight, it is interesting to note that the Jesuit High School in Buffalo, which was once a Masonic temple, still retains undisturbed, down to the present writing, the symbols of its earlier owners.)

As early as 1810 Bishop Carroll was no longer in doubt as to the character of Masonry, and together with his suffragans enjoined upon their priests that they refuse the sacraments to Masons.

But for long years their warnings sounded out over but half of the nation. The Louisiana Territory had doubled the area of the United States, and by the time Bishop DuBourg was consecrated Bishop of Louisiana and the Floridas, his thoroughly Catholic New Orleans, his see-city, was as thoroughly Masonic. The bishop's brother here also was a Mason; in fact he was the

head of the local lodges. Louisiana too had its zealous priest. He, however, did not take counsel with the bishop before acting. He refused to permit Masonic emblems in the church at a funeral; whereat the trustees of the church of Baton Rouge appealed against him to—the bishop.

Bishop DuBourg begged of Rome that the condemnation of Masonry might not be urged in his diocese. He received no reply; silence was what he prayed for; silence is consent. Catholic historians of today are horrified when they behold Father Sedella, pastor of the cathedral, buried in Masonic regalia.

Before taking leave of New Orleans, it must be stated that the Masonry of this section, which had come from France, was of a very different tinge from that of the East which came from England.

St. Louis, Missouri, where the bishop lived, was at this time little more than a village suburb of New Orleans. That Masonry was here of the same character as that of the older city is evident from the fact, as related by the chroniclers of the time, that in 1809 the St. Louis Masons celebrated the Feast of their patron, Saint John the Baptist, "by attendance at church"—the only church in the place was the Catholic church—where an appropriate sermon was preached. It is easier to say who was not a Mason among the leading St. Louisans of that time than to list those who were members of the lodge. Pierre Chouteau, son of the co-founder of the city and Jeremias Connor who gave the property on which the Jesuit University was to be built, were officers. Let it be noted that when later this lodge was disbanded—for a time—half its funds was given to the Sisters of Charity.

The United States was of small consideration in the civilized world in 1800. It will be necessary to fly the Atlantic and examine conditions in Europe to find evidence that the outstanding Catholic laymen in all Christendom were Masons. The first landing will be at what is now the Shannon Airport in Eire. Today in this environment the sight of a Catholic Mason would be as astounding as the specter of a woman-priest. But what of 1800? Tell it not in Gath! Young Daniel O'Connell—observe the "young"—who dying was to will his heart to Rome, the greatest native Irish statesman in the history of the nation, was a Mason. In fact it must be acknowledged that it was to some extent the neutrality towards religion of the British Masons that enabled him to accomplish his life's achievement, the securing of Catholic Emancipation.

And what of England? The supreme head of the English Masons about this time was a faithful Catholic, Lord Petre, faithful to the traditions of a family that had never wavered from the faith through three centuries of every species of persecution.

Hastening over to the continent, where we must recall, the capital city of the Holy Roman Empire of the German People was not yet the Lutheran city of Berlin but the Catholic city of Vienna, we shall have no difficulty in finding striking evidences of the unimpeachability of our contention. The Emperor himself, Francis I, is a Mason; and the men whose names more than that of His Majesty have made Vienna famous, Mozart and Haydn, authors of Masses and every species of church music, were both Masons. It is said of the latter that when asked how he was able with so much ease to produce such wonderful harmonies, he replied "At the thought of God my heart leaps with joy and I cannot help my music from doing the same." Isn't that supereminent Catholicity? He lived and died a Mason. All intimates of the Emperor had to be good Catholics and good Masons.

And what is the condition of affairs in this regard in the land of contradictions, the home of great holiness and of grand diabolism, France? The man who would probably be named the most eminent Catholic layman in the world at this period, Count DeMaistre, well exemplifies these contradictions. An exquisite sketch from the pen of the late Raymond Corrigan, S.J., that appeared in this *Bulletin*, was entitled "DeMaistre, Freemason and Ultramontane" and its opening sentences read "Count Joseph DeMaistre was an enthusiastic Freemason. In 1788 he presented a memorial to the Duke of Brunswick, Grandmaster of the Masons, urging him to take the lead in restoring religion (he meant the Catholic religion) throughout the world. The same Joseph DeMaistre was later the Father of Ultramontanism, a . . . brilliant protagonist of Papal Infalibility."

On the eve of the great Revolution, France took Masonry to her heart with furious enthusiasm. Three degrees were not enough. It is estimated that two hundred degrees were instituted in the multitudinous independent lodges. Liberty, Equality and Fraternity echoes throughout the land: liberty, without law; equality of good and wicked; fraternity, even of women and men. Several of the lodges in France had female members until the scandal of it outraged even the mobs. But it must not

be forgotten that, as a counterbalance to this state of affairs, perhaps a majority of the lodges were made up of honorable citizens whose high hopes were that sweet wine might come forth at length from the seething wine-press of humanity, which made tolerable the vagaries of their fellows. Such were DeMaistre and LaFayette and many more, who, if they ever left their baptismal fireside, returned to it in good time as from a field of war to a mother's bosom.

Before venturing into the Latin Nations of the south, it may be well to see what we have seen in the north. With this rapid sampling, showing a Carroll and a DuBourg in the United States, Daniel O'Connell in Ireland, Lord Petre in England, Emperor Francis I and Mozart and Haydn in the German Empire and Count DeMaitre in France, all excellent Catholics and all simultaneously excellent Masons, it is unmistakable that the words Catholic and Freemason were not in reality contradictory terms. Yet throughout all these years the Divine Guardian of Truth from the battlements of the Vatican multiplied its warnings and excommunications.

But not one of those named above is thought to have been wanting in due respect for the Holy Father; far from it, they were exemplars of uncompromising Catholicity. How then can such flagrant disobedience be explained!

The apologist for Lord Petre in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* very neatly states that the Church's prohibitions were not so clear then as at present. That view would exonerate the great multitude of the laity whom our writers properly denominate "the faithful." How in 1800 could the ordinances of Rome reach the laity when, particularly in the English-speaking countries, there was no Catholic press, and when the many pressing local topics excluded any mention of such a subject as Masonry from the ordinary Catholic pulpits. News traveled slowly in those days and false news, specially plentiful in matters Catholic, could not be disproved perhaps for months. History is replete with stories of counterfeit Papal bulls. Just at the period of which we are treating there was a fake bull, which probably had a wider circulation than any genuine one, that gave the blessings of the church and advocated Masonry. As a consequence of such trickery—and even kings were known to have resorted to this species of diplomacy—it became usual to distrust all orders from Rome until the bishops had promulgated them. It de-

volved upon the bishops to separate the cockle from the wheat, not to quench the burning flax, to educate and prepare their people for the reception of the truth. We saw how Bishop DuBourg of New Orleans abrogated the law for his diocese. This could not have been an unique event. Others probably viewed the sudden upsurge of Masonry as part of the passing frenzy of revolution that swept over Latin Europe and Latin America, and hoped that after the Napoleonic catastrophies there would follow so great a love of peace, that religion, to the exclusion of all secret societies, would enlighten the nations with the fire of Love Divine. Others saw in Masonry's allurement to a golden age of apocalyptic benevolence, a revolt against the Protestant zealotry for faith alone without good works, and hoped the pendulum would necessarily come to rest in the Catholic position touching and joining into unity the most earnest faith and the richest abundance of good works.

Let us not delay on these hypotheses, for it can readily be seen that the principal reason why it was that Catholics paid so little or no attention to the Vicar of Christ whom they acknowledged as their leader was owing to the general confusion as to the meaning of the word Mason.

To the watchman on the watchtowers of the Vatican every Mason was a Mason. They constituted a genus, altogether bad.

The man on the street saw various species of Masons and believed that there were good Masons and bad or pseudo-Masons. Masons so conspicuously differed from one another that they sometimes warred on one another. Let Mexico serve as a type. The excellent non-Catholic historian, John Bach McMaster, preparing to tell of our Mexican War, has two rival groups of Masons, all Catholics, of course, contending for the mastery in the government of the nation. Our first U. S. minister to Mexico, Joel Poinsett, had organized the newer group and "for four days fierce fighting raged in the suburbs of the city." Mr. Poinsett thus lighted a fuse that led to the explosion which shattered Mexico into two almost equal parts. Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California fell to the north. The United States should build him a monument. Perhaps we sufficiently perpetuate his name by our lavish decorating of our churches with the weed that bears his name, the Poinsettia.

What was true of Mexico, presenting a spectacle of what seemed to worldly eyes good Masons and bad Masons, and both reckoned as Catholic Masons, might be shown equally true of

all the nations of Central and South America. During their wars of independence Masonry became so widely endemic throughout the Latin nations that it ought not be surprising if the Mastai-Ferretti whose name appears in a Masonic roster were indeed, as is claimed to the scandal of innocent Catholic readers, to be the same Mastai-Ferretti, who, after a time in Chile in South America, became in Rome the glorious Pope Pius IX.

Perhaps these nations have but one man of world-wide fame, Simon Bolivar. Let us close our list of eminent personages, good Catholics and good Masons with his honored name.

We have yet to visit Italy. It has been retained to the last for the reason that it does not belong to our argument, because in, at least the Papal States which were then one-third of the peninsula, there were no respectable Catholics in 1800 and for years after who were Masons. As early as 1737, just twenty years after the organization of modern Masonry, Clement VIII had warned his people that they were not Christians if they were Masons. A Protestant, not a Catholic king had anticipated him in first outlawing the novelty. With Clement's fulmination, the apostates went underground and became instead of workers in stone, Masons, workers with charcoal, Carbonari. If we may believe the well informed publicist, Bresciani, the lodges of these reprobates became dens of blasphemous, diabolical indecencies.

Here was a new species of Masonry or Masonic associates. Elsewhere it was an admirable zeal for good works that lured the multitudes into the lodges, but here a rabid hate of all government brought a wolf-pack together. No English-speaking Masons would acknowledge these lodges. Yet it was the world-wide impression that it was the Carbonari that Pope Clement and his immediate successors had in mind—they could not help having them in mind day and night—when crying their paternal warnings against Masons and secret societies.

How could this impression be remedied; for in those days, as was said, there was no Catholic press. The Catholic statesmen and the day laborer alike were engrossed with political and domestic problems and had no opportunity to read papal encyclicals. If by chance it was told them that Masonry was forbidden, they shrugged their shoulders and contented themselves that it was impossible that the Holy Father, if he knew, could have condemned what seemed to them so helpful, so genial and so benevolent an organization as their lodge. We, they replied, are not

the Carbonari who worship the devil, nor the Grand Orient who have no God, nor the Three-point lodges who boast that they organize all the revolutions in the world. Impossible that any warning of evil in our excellent works of charity should have really come from the Father of Christendom!

They were grievously mistaken. The Divinely appointed Guardians of Truth knew, and their cry of alarm was intended, down through the years, for the good Masons, who were Catholics, rather than for the desperadoes and others who call themselves Masons but who are not recognized by the three great Masonic organizations.

The greatest of all iniquities, the source of all others, that was attributed to the Masons by Clement VIII in 1737 and repeated by Leo XIII in his vigorous *Humanum Genus* in 1884, is the rejection of Jesus Christ.

What Catholic, what Christian, can ever, ever fully express the heinousness of this crime! But first, is this accusation true; do the Masons reject Christianity? That they do is not one of their secrets. It is openly professed. Here, at hand we have the *Americana* (1925) where an officially chosen historian of the order, tells the world that "The authors of the new regime—he is referring to the makers of the original Constitution of modern Masonry—"completely changed the theory of the institution—from Christianity to a universal creed." They changed from the Christianity of the devout guilds of the earlier centuries to a new creed. Evidently, the Popes were warranted in indicating to Catholics that they were abandoning Christianity for a new creed when they gave their names to the Masonic lodges.

The writer in the *Americana* goes on to reveal more about this new religion "All modern lodges throughout the world," he writes, "except the Grand Orient of France, do homage to a Divine Being, symbolized by Horani, the Grand Architect of the Universe." ("Horani"—is this a misprint for Hiram?) Hiram is their substitute for Jesus. He is not consubstantial with the Father but symbolizes Him. The name Hiram is taken from the Scriptural friend of Solomon, but his life and his death is altogether a fictional story. He is persecuted and dies like our Savior, but we hear nothing of his rising-flesh and blood, from the grave, and naught of salvation. The Popes early recognized the rejection of the Savior of the world. They were faithless to

their duty as Shepherds had they neglected to use every possible means to guard the flock of Christ.

By exception the Masons of Sweden, of whom the king is grandmaster by hereditary right, acknowledge Christ. They, however, are recognized by and recognize all the "good Masons," among others, our most numerous American Masons who in their 13th degree's ritual, Kadosh, trample on the crown as well as on the miter. They recognize also certain lodges of Italy whose poet laureate, as he may be styled, defies likewise the miter and the crown in his celebrated "Hymn to Satan."

In conclusion, the reader is reminded that this recital has been as objective as possible. Its sole purpose was to make evident beyond the shadow of a doubt that about the year 1800, THEN, whereas the great Shepherd of Souls was crying out with vehemence in pursuance of his high office to prevent his flock from abandoning Jesus, his outcry, owing to a general misunderstanding throughout all Christendom, fell on deaf ears.

And NOW, since the strong world-reaching alarm-cry of Leo XIII of 1884, in at least, the northern hemisphere, there are no Catholic Masons. Following Augustine of Hippo of the fourth century, Leo declared: "Two loves formed two cities; the love of self, reaching even to the contempt of God, an earthly love; and the love of God, reaching to the contempt of self, a heavenly one."

It is said that it was while preparing to confute Leo's encyclical, the Marquis of Ripon in England, the Viceroy of India, and Joseph Ripley Chandler, LL.D., M.C., Grand Master of the Masons of Pennsylvania, resigned from their lodges and became very earnest members of the Catholic church.

And thus the very widespread error that is met with not only in the conversation of well-informed Catholics and Masons alike but also in historical and biographical works of high standing, of confusing the THEN and the NOW of the relationship of Catholicity and Masonry is thoroughly exposed and confuted.

RENAISSANCE EDUCATIONAL THEORY: REVOLUTION OR EVOLUTION? PART II

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The Relation of Renaissance Educational Theory to That of the Middle Ages

The three major features of Renaissance educational theory: its humanism, its aim to produce a well rounded man, and its Christianity, have been discussed in Part I. How each of these can be accounted for largely on the basis of the circumstances, needs, and traditions of the day, was also explained. It remains to examine what relation this theory bore to preceding mediaeval educational speculation and practice. Did it evolve naturally out of the latter? Or was it a revolutionary "saltus" or leap back (over the mediaeval) to the ancient?

It has often been assumed that because the writings of the Renaissance theorists are replete with classical allusions and quotations, and because their views frequently correspond to those of the ancient authors, that Renaissance educational speculation was primarily a resuscitation of the ancient classical, divorced from any major dependence on the mediaeval. Yet the conclusion by no means necessarily follows from the premises. Mediaeval writers also habitually invoked classical authority, wherever possible, to bolster their views. And mediaeval pedagogy likewise agreed in many of its major lineaments, as well as on lesser points, with the ancient, from which it directly descended. Furthermore, as will be seen, precedents for Renaissance educational theory and practice were present in the mediaeval, so that a herculean jump back across a thousand years was unnecessary.

The quotation of ancient classical writers by Renaissance theorists is accordingly often more in the nature of a corroboration for views whose fundamental reasons are more organic. The Renaissance pedagogical writers found in such authors as Cicero and Quintilian not only stylistic models, but also considerable support of what they had to say, together with an abundance of apt and cogent quotations. For it was fashionable, almost imperative, during the Renaissance, even as it had been in varying degrees throughout the Middle Ages, to employ extracts from the classics to confirm and adorn one's statements and arguments.

It cannot be denied that ancient classical treatises had some influence on the development of Renaissance educational theory. Such an influence, however, was not peculiar to Renaissance speculation as distinguished from that of the Middle Ages. Much of it came through the latter, in which it was already deeply embedded. But there was a special affinity between Renaissance and ancient writers on pedagogy, inasmuch as each had primarily in view the education of the laity. It was not necessary to make quite as many adjustments as had been the case with mediaeval theorists, whose pedagogy was chiefly clerical. Furthermore, the major ancient Latin writers on the subject, even as most Renaissance theorists, had some vested interest in eloquence and the verbal arts. Thus Cicero was an orator and Quintilian a teacher of rhetoric, while most Renaissance theorists were teachers of grammar and rhetoric or litterateurs. Much of what the ancient authors had to say not only reassured Renaissance theorists, but also assisted them in the more precise and comprehensive formulation of both their aims and program. What is important, however, is that Renaissance theorists could hardly have avoided arriving at the same conclusions even without reference to ancient treatises, on account of existing needs and conditions, and also, as well be seen, on account of established mediaeval traditions.

Renaissance educational theory and practice evolved directly out of the mediaeval. The direct progenitor of Renaissance speculation concerning the general education of the laity was mediaeval theorization concerning the special training of clerics. For during the preceding Middle Ages, most education and learning, together with most treatises on the subject, were ecclesiastical. As a result of the barbarian incursions and the disintegration of the Roman Empire, which were practically contemporaneous with the final victory of Christianity, Churchmen came to constitute the majority of the learned class in Western Europe. So much so that, as is well known, the terms "literate" and "clerk" became practically synonymous. Whereas others, in the maelstrom of those strenuous times, might consider literacy and learning as luxuries, for Churchmen they were virtual necessities. Clergymen must be able to recite the complex and varied liturgy of the church and conform to its "rubrics." Each generation must be instructed anew in the Christian faith, and young Churchmen trained to replace the old. Heresy must be avoided,

and the "pure, unadulterated stream of Christian doctrine" maintained. Since the Middle Ages witnessed extensive missionary activities, the announcers of "the good tidings of great joy" must be able "to give a reason for the faith that was in them." Furthermore, a universal interpretation of life and reality, such as Christianity was, not only required constant integration with all existing fields of knowledge, but also provided a continuing stimulus to broader inquiry. As a result numerous active Church "schools," at least in the ancient sense of places where learning was dispensed by teachers, continued to function throughout Western Europe even during the so-called "Dark Ages."

During the Middle Ages, a number of treatises dealing primarily with the education of clerics were composed. Representative among the latter were works on this subject by Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville, Rhabanus Maurus, Thierry of Chartres, Hugh of St. Victor, Conrad of Hirschau, and John of Salisbury, all prior to the thirteenth century.

In the sixth century, the able and versatile Cassiodorus, who, after winning his laurels as an eminent statesman in Italy, turned to the monastic life, composed a treatise entitled *An Introduction to Divine and Secular Learning*.¹ This was originally intended as a guide for the literary studies of the monks of his monasteries at Squillace. It subsequently became a sort of charter for monastic and clerical learning in the West. It was a brief encyclopedia of sacred and profane literature. In connection with the latter, it provided an introductory sketch of the liberal arts. Also enjoined were textual criticism and the copying of manuscripts, the last of which became a monastic tradition.

In the seventh century, Isidore, learned and revered Archbishop of Seville, intensely interested in clerical education, composed several works designed to promote the latter. The most important of these was a concise encyclopedia of selected elements of universal knowledge. The latter was based on his own extensive readings of many previous writers, of whom he quotes over one hundred and fifty. The work has come to be known as his *Etymologies*.² At the outset, he discusses in turn the seven

¹ Cassiodorus, Senator, *An Introduction to Divine and Human Readings*, tr. L. W. Jones (N. Y., Columbia U., 1946).

² Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiae sive Origines . . .*, ed. T. Lindsay, 2 vols. (Oxford, University, 1911).

liberal arts, which he regarded as basic for all learning. Among these he gives greatest attention to grammar; next to rhetoric, logic, and astronomy; and finally, in order of fulness of treatment, arithmetic, geometry, and music. Subsequent books of Isidore's exhaustive undertaking take up information relative to law, medicine, geography, mineralogy, engineering, architecture, biology, and theology, as well as several other topics. Isidore's monumental, and usually instructive, if often defective, work became a standard reference book in the Middle Ages.

In the ninth century, Rhabanus Maurus, who studied for a while under Alcuin, and subsequently became schoolmaster and later Abbot of Fulda, as well as finally Archbishop of Mainz, epitomized educational theory and practice during the "Carolingian Renaissance" in his work *On the Instruction of Clerics*.³ Rhabanus, as had Cassiodorus before him, divided his treatise into a discussion of secular learning, on the one hand, and religious learning, on the other. His outlook is broad and liberal. For him grammar, by definition, includes the study of literature; the efficacy of logic as an instrument of truth is emphasized; arithmetic is praised as both fundamental and intellectualizing; geometry is said to have something divine about it; astronomy is admired as majestic as well as practical; and music is spoken of as something intimately interwoven with Christianity and life in general as well as indispensable for the proper performance of the liturgy. The work *On the Instruction of Clerics* was an educational charter for Central Europe, and Rhabanus has been hailed as "the Teacher of Germany."⁴

The twelfth century was the golden era of mediaeval pedagogical speculation. In the course of the century, four important treatises on educational theory were composed: two by Frenchmen, one by a German, and one by an Englishman. Incidentally, increasing contemporary interest in Greek causes all of these works to be provided with titles of Greek derivation.

The teaching of the seven liberal arts at Paris and Chartres in the first half of the twelfth century is reflected in a large treatise compiled by Thierry of Chartres. Thierry, who taught both in Paris and at Chartres in the course of his career, succeeded his famous brother, Bernard of Chartres, as chancellor of the latter school. Thierry's monumental work, which filled

³ Rhabanus Maurus, *De clericorum institutione*, in *Patrologiae . . . latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, CVII, 293-419. Migne is hereafter cited as Migne, P.L.

⁴ "Preceptor Germaniae."

two large manuscript volumes, was entitled *The Heptateuchon or a Library of the Seven Liberal Arts*.⁵ It took up each of the latter in turn at unusual length.

In the same century, Hugh of St. Victor, learned headmaster of the Abbey of St. Victor, wrote, as a prospectus for the education of clerics, a treatise entitled *The Didascalion or the Pursuit of Learning*.⁶ In this treatise, where one again encounters the familiar division of divine and secular learning, we find that Hugh embraces all organized learning within the term "Philosophia." He thus coordinates all branches of scholarly knowledge in a unified system. "Philosophy" itself is divided into four great parts, which Hugh terms "logical," "speculative," "practical," and "mechanical." Logical philosophy includes grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics. Speculative philosophy includes mathematics, the natural sciences, and theology. Practical philosophy includes ethics, economics, and political science. Mechanical philosophy embraces such technical applications as agriculture, medicine, and drama, along with several others.

Another twelfth century educational treatise was the *Dialogue on Authors or Didascalon* of Conrad of Hirschau.⁷ Conrad's work was composed in connection with his teaching in the Cluniac Benedictine Abbey school of Hirschau in Germany. It lists and discusses authors to be read in the monastic course of grammatical and rhetorical studies. It includes standard pagan as well as Christian writers.

The fourth and most lauded twelfth century treatise on educational theory is John of Salisbury's *Metalogicon*,⁸ which title, as its author explains it in his Prologue, means a defence of

⁵ Theodoricus Carnotensis, "Heptateuchon, sive Bibliotheca de septem artibus liberalibus." Since the original and unique copy of this work, the twelfth century Ms. Codex 497-498 (141-142) of the library of the town of Chartres was destroyed during World War II, the only known copy in existence is that preserved on microfilm at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, St. Michael's College, University of Toronto, Canada.

⁶ Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalion de studio legendi*, ed. C. Buttmer (Washington, D. C., Catholic University, 1939).

⁷ Conradus Hirsaugiensis (Konrad von Hirschau), *Dialogus super auctores, sive Didascalon*, ed. G. Schepss (Würzburg, 1889).

⁸ Joannes Saresberiensis, *Metalogicon . . .*, ed. C. C. J. Webb (Oxford, Clarendon, 1919). The University of California Press, in conjunction with the Cambridge University Press, is publishing a translation of this work by the present writer.

logical studies. The work consists of four books designed to confute those who would extenuate contemporary study of the trivium. The first book dwells on grammar and the associated study of classical literature with humanistic enthusiasm. Most of the treatise advocates and delineates the extended study of logic proper, as presented in Aristotle's complete *Organon* and supplementary works.

Since, during the Middle Ages, it was chiefly clerics who were being educated, it is not surprising that other studies were made introductory and subsidiary to religion. As one would expect, grammar, rhetoric, logic, mathematics, the sciences, and philosophy in general were made introductory to scriptural, patristic, and theological studies. At the same time, there was a considerable shift in the emphasis accorded various elements of the curriculum as the Middle Ages progressed. Thus technical grammar was stressed in the so-called "Carolingian Renaissance," classical literature in the first half of the "Twelfth Century Renaissance," logic in the later part of that period, and philosophy in general in the thirteenth century.

What is really deserving of remark is not that mediaeval theory of education, designed primarily for clerics, accorded the supreme position to religious studies, but that it was as liberal as it was. This fact, which is attested previously by numerous evidences and sources, is exemplified by the previously mentioned pedagogical treaties of Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville, Rhabanus Maurus, Thierry of Chartres, Hugh of St. Victor, Conrad of Hirschau, and John of Salisbury. Generally speaking, liberal learning remained in high esteem throughout the period, and continued to be cultivated by clerics. Furthermore, its literary, scientific, and philosophical content was progressively expanded.

In the twelfth century, clerical humanism became so strong that some modern historians have seen fit to characterize that era as a "Renaissance."⁹ John of Salisbury, writing in defence of logic in 1159, could not resist the temptation to extend his treatise to include grammar, with due stress on the reading of the authors; to this subject he devotes a full quarter of his work. Still, in the twelfth century, the predominantly clerical orienta-

⁹ For example, Charles H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Harvard, 1927), and G. Paré, A. Brunet, and P. Tremblay, *Renaissance du xiie siècle : les écoles et l'enseignement* (Paris, Vrin, 1933).

tion of pedagogy continued. Hugh of St. Victor's *Didascalion* is more concerned with religious than with secular studies. Conrad of Hirschau's *Didascalon* lists Christian writers, such as Sedilius, Juvencus, Prosper, Theodulus, Arator, and Prudentius, before ancient Roman authors, such as Cicero, Horace, Ovid, Juvenal, Statius, and Virgil. Even the *Metalogicon* of John of Salisbury, despite its circumscribed subject of logic, goes out of its way to emphasize that "divine learning" is the ideal culmination of the learning process,¹⁰ and to deplore the event that certain weaker souls, after being subjected to the Cornifician pedagogical travesty, have forsaken their original goals to engage in the more materialistic pursuits of medicine, politics, law, and business.¹¹ In this we may see a "sign of the times."

We have not meant to suggest that education of the laity was entirely absent from the fifth to twelfth centuries. A considerable lay literacy continued, with fluctuations, throughout the Middle Ages.¹² It did not disappear even in the so-called "Dark Ages" from the fifth to the ninth centuries. Still, it evidently progressively decreased. And this despite a temporary "shot in the arm" from the Carolingian Renaissance. Even here, most of the effect seems to have been in the clerical field.¹³ The tenth century was probably transitional, and during the eleventh and twelfth centuries there was a considerable increase of lay literacy. In the High Middle Ages, the principle that members of the royalty and aristocracy should be literate and even have a certain amount of liberal learning, came to be generally accepted.¹⁴ The Italian class of educated professional laymen, which seems never to have entirely disappeared,¹⁵ markedly increased. Elsewhere, as in France, this class revived. It is to be noted that during the twelfth century the vernacular apparently gained ground, at the expense of Latin, in non-professional lay education. That is one fact which seems to have aroused the humanists.

Despite the perseverance and revival of considerable lay literacy during the previous Middle Ages, the first mediaeval

¹⁰ John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, ii, 10; iv, 13, 39, 40, 41, 42.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, i, 4.

¹² Cf. the excellent treatise of James W. Thompson, *The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, University of California, 1939).

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-52.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-197.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 14-15, 53-81.

treatises concerning general education, designed expressly for the laity, seem to have been written by Vincent of Beauvais and Egidio Colonna in the thirteenth century. Vincent's treatise, composed during the sunset of a life of scholarly labors, was entitled *On the Education of Noble Children*.¹⁶ That of Egidio consists of twenty chapters on the education of royal, aristocratic, and upper bourgeois children in his work *On the Governance of Rulers*.¹⁷ Both authors were religious: the one a Dominican, the other an Augustinian. Both were also distinguished and respected in their day, and had practical experience in the type of education they discuss. The program they outline for the general education of lay leaders is broad and generous. It includes the traditional liberal arts of grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music.¹⁸ The cultivation of literary tastes is urged.¹⁹ Grammar and reading will, of course, continue to include poetry, drama, and history. The natural sciences, together with political science and economics are to be taught, as well as metaphysics and ethics.²⁰ Even instruction preparatory to the married state is included.²¹ Religion is an important part of education,²² and moral training is recognized as fundamental.²³ To be included in education are social adaptation, inculcation of good manners, and physical, as well as military training.²⁴ Also discussed, although accorded secondary attention, is the education of girls.²⁵ It can readily be seen that the educational theory of Vincent and Egidio is transitional, if not anticipatory, to that of the Renaissance. Like Dante, while mediaeval, Vincent and Egidio usher in modernity.

¹⁶ Vincent de Beauvais, *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*, ed. A. Steiner (Cambridge, Mass., Mediaeval Academy, 1938). Hereinafter cited Vincent, *D.e.f.n.*

¹⁷ Egidio Colonna, *De regimine principum* (Rome, Zanetti, 1607), herein-after Egidio, *D.r.p.*

¹⁸ Vincent, *D.e.f.n.*, xi, xiv, xx-xxii; Egidio, *D.r.p.*, II, ii, 7, 8.

¹⁹ Vincent, *D.e.f.n.*, xi, xvi, xviii, xix; Egidio, *D.r.p.*, II, ii, 7, 8.

²⁰ Vincent, *D.e.f.n.*, xi; Egidio, *D.r.p.*, II, ii, 8.

²¹ Vincent, *D.e.f.n.*, xxxvii; Egidio, *D.r.p.*, II, i.

²² Vincent, *D.e.f.n.*, xv, xvi; Egidio, *D.r.p.*, II, ii, 5, 8.

²³ Vincent, *D.e.f.n.*, xxiii, xxviii-xxx, xxxv-xxxvi, xl, and *passim*; Egidio, *D.r.p.*, II, ii, 3, 4, 6, 12, 14, 19, 20, and *passim*.

²⁴ Vincent, *D.e.f.n.*, xxxii-xxxiv; Egidio, *D.r.p.*, II, ii, 6, 13, 18, and III, iii.

²⁵ The education of girls is discussed in Vincent, *D.e.f.n.*, xlvi-xlix; and by Egidio, *D.r.p.*, II, ii, 19-21.

The practice of composing treatises concerning the general education of the laity in the Renaissance thus evolved, gradually and naturally, out of the composition of such treatises concerning the education of the clergy in the Middle Ages. Can the same be said of the content of such treatises: their humanism, their ideal of broad education, and their religious and moral aspect?

It has been remarked that the most fundamental feature of Renaissance educational theory was its humanism. Yet the principle of the extensive study of classical Latin and its literature, together with the development of good literary style, was firmly rooted in mediaeval pedagogical tradition.²⁶ These tenets of Renaissance humanism were, accordingly, not in themselves new. It is true that the intensity of Renaissance enthusiasm for the latter, and the consequent dominant place accorded literary studies in the curriculum, may have been new. It is also true that the Renaissance may have had a keener appreciation of nature in itself, and of man's life in this world. But all of these features can be largely accounted for by the fact that Renaissance culture was more lay than clerical. And they are differences in degree rather than in essence.

Throughout the mediaeval period, Latin grammar was always recognized as the gateway to, and the foundation for all learning. Not even in the heyday of Scholasticism could aspirants to scholarship afford to neglect the thorough study of Latin grammar; without it they could neither read, write, nor speak the lingo of learning. During the Middle Ages an impressive number of Latin grammars and readers were composed. Several are of excellent quality, many are presented in intricate versification, all witness the warm interest in their subject.²⁷

The mediaeval study of grammar definitely included the reading of representative ancient literary masterpieces.²⁸ Mediaeval definitions and explanations of the nature of grammar continued

²⁶ Cf., v.g., Cassiodorus, Rhabanus Maurus, Hugh of St. Victor, Conrad of Hirschau, and John of Salisbury, as well as Vincent of Beauvais and Egidio Colonna *ut supra cit.*, and Henri d' Andeli and John of Garland, *infra*.

²⁷ On mediaeval Latin grammars and readers, cp. Paul Abelson, *The Seven Liberal Arts . . .* (N. Y., Columbia, 1906), hereinafter cited Abelson, *S.L.A.*, pp. 11-20 and 35-51.

²⁸ Cp. Abelson, *S.L.A.*, pp. 21-34; and Ernst R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, tr. W. R. Trask (N. Y., Pantheon, 1953), hereinafter cited Curtius, *E.L.L.M.A.*, pp. 42, 48-61, 260-264, 448-467.

to include, as had Quintilian, the study of literature, notably the poets. In their study of the authors, mediaeval scholars looked not only for general information and models of style, but also for "sententiae" and "exempla." "Sententiae" were convenient generalizations and norms; "exempla", instances suitable for illustration and edification.²⁹ The Middle Ages also continued the ancient practice of drawing up lists of recommended "auctores," whose works were considered basic in instruction and were regarded in much the same light as we do "classics." To the established rolls of pagan classical writers were added the Latin translation of the Bible, notably the Vulgate, and better Christian poetry of commendable style. Although sometimes, as in the case of Notker Balbulus (ca. 890),³⁰ an exclusively Christian diet might be recommended, in general the ancient classical authors retained their place of honor, and were studied as basic. Among representative lists which survive are Alcuin's partial catalogue of works to be found in York Minster Library in the eighth century, given in his poem *On the Saints and Bishops of York*;³¹ Theodulf of Orleans' poem concerning the books he was accustomed to teach, from the same period;³² Walter of Speier's remarks concerning authors he read while in school in the tenth century;³³ Othlo of Emmeran's mention of his school books, in the eleventh century;³⁴ Winrich of Treves' catalogue of authors in his satirical poem concerning his transfer from the school to the kitchen, written in the same century;³⁵ Aimeric the Frenchman's prose excursus on the authors in his *Ars lectoria* (1086);³⁶ Honorius of Autun's twelfth century dicta concern-

²⁹ Curtius, *E.L.L.M.A.*, pp. 57-61.

³⁰ Notker Balbulus (Letters to Salomon of Constance) in L. Röckinger, *Drei Formelsammlung aus der Zeit der Karolinger* (Munich, 1858).

³¹ Quoted and analyzed in A. F. Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England* (London, Methuen, 1915), pp. 56-63.

³² Theodulf, *Carmen de libris quos legere solebam*, in *Poetae latini medii aevi*, ed. E. Duemller, in *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Poetae latini aevi carolini*, I, 543-544.

³³ Walter von Speier, *Libellus de studio poetae, Acta Sancti Christophori*, in Pez, Bernhard, ed., *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus*, 6 vols. (Augsburg, Philippi, Martini, et al, 1721-1729) II, Pt. 3, col. 39.

³⁴ Othlo of Emmeran, *De doctrina spirituali . . .*, in Pez, *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus*, III, Pt. 2, 442.

³⁵ See Curtius, *E.L.L.M.A.*, pp. 260 and 433.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 464-465.

ing books to be used in the study of grammar;³⁷ Conrad of Hirschau's twelfth century list of twenty-one recommended authors in his *Didascalon*,³⁸ an anonymous discussion of curriculum authors, dating from the late twelfth century, attributed to Alexander Neckham;³⁹ John of Garland's thirteenth century list of authors to be read in studying the liberal arts;⁴⁰ Nicolai de Bibera's thirteenth century evidence as to author's studied, given in his *Satirical Poem*;⁴¹ Henri d'Andeli's thirteenth century roll of authors enlisted under the banner of Orleans;⁴² Eberhard the German's list of thirty-seven authors, in his thirteenth century didactic poem on rhetoric;⁴³ Hugh of Trimberg's catalogue of eighty authors, in the same century;⁴⁴ and Dante's account of well known authors he encountered in his journey through the nether regions. While there are, of course, certain variations in these lists, there is ample evidence that the following pagan classical authors were regularly read in the study of grammar and rhetoric: Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Plautus, Terence, Juvenal, Lucan, Statius, Persius, Cicero, Seneca the Younger, Sallust, and Homer (in a truncated, elementary Latin translation).⁴⁵ Also, by way of elementary readers, Pseudo-Cato's *Distichia* and the fable-literature which went under the names of Aesop, Romulus, Avianus, and others, were used.⁴⁶ In addition,

³⁷ Honorius of Autun, *De animae exsilio, alias de artibus*, in Migne, *P.L.*, CLXXII.

³⁸ *Ut supra cit.*

³⁹ Charles H. Haskins in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XX (Cambridge, Harvard, 1909), 75ff.

⁴⁰ Johannes de Garlandia in B. Hauréau, *Notices et extraits*, XXVII, Pt. 2, 1-86, cited in Abelson, *S.L.A.*, p. 28.

⁴¹ Nicolai de Bibera, *Carmen satiricum*, in Thomas Fisher, ed., *Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen*, I, p. 38, vv. 35-45.

⁴² Henri d' Andeli, *La Bataille des sept arts*, ed. and tr. L. J. Paetow, in his *The Battle of the Seven Arts* (Berkeley, U. of California, 1914).

⁴³ Eberhard the German (mistakenly identified with Eberhard of Bethune) *Laborinthus*, ed. P. Leyser, in *Historia poetarum et poematum medii aevi* (Halle, 1721).

⁴⁴ Hugo von Trimberg, *Registrum multorum auctorum*, ed. J. Huemer, in *Sitzungberichte de P.-H.C. der K.A. der Wien* (Vienna, 1848ff.) Bd. CXVI, 12 Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, tr. C. E. Wheeler. 3 vols. (London, 1911).

⁴⁵ The so-called "*Ilias latina*," a crude, truncated Latin translation of the first century.

⁴⁶ Cf., v.g., Theodor Gottlieb, *Ueber Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken* (Leipzig, 1890), esp. pp. 439-449.

Martial, Quintilian, and Maximianus are frequently included. Earlier Christian authors whose names consistently recur include Prudentius, Juvencus, Sedulius, and Arator; while Prosper of Aquitaine, Theodulus, Sidonius, and Suetonius are often found. The aforesaid evidence is also generally confirmed by chance surviving catalogues of mediaeval libraries, as well as by the analysis of sources drawn on by leading mediaeval authors. Thus John of Salisbury echoes practically all of them, usually several times.⁴⁷

The Middle Ages put considerable stock in the attainment of verbal facility in Latin, which accomplishment was known as "*eloquentia*." To this end, rhetoric was cultivated as well as grammar. Although rhetoric no longer retained the dazzling position of preeminence it had enjoyed in Hellenistic and Roman antiquity, its principal forms and themes were still studied and employed, and even given new applications.⁴⁸ Although "*eloquence*" continued to be a scholarly and cultural ideal in the Middle Ages, as in antiquity, it was strongly counterbalanced and moderated by other ideals, such as those of truth and rationality, faith and morality. It designated a universal "*facilitas verborum*," whose ambit embraced all forms of verbal expression and included poetry as well as prose. The influence of rhetoric on all composition, poetical included, was in evidence as early as Ovid, and in the Middle Ages became still more pervasive.⁴⁹ As a result, the boundaries of grammar and rhetoric, already indistinct, became even more blurred. Much of rhetoric and even prose authors, such as the orators and historians, came to be studied in grammar. In the course of time, some rhetoric was included in the study of law. Interesting sub-species, such as the so-called "*Ars dictaminis*,"⁵⁰ were also evolved. This branch of rhetoric treated the composition of letters and the preparation of documents. At the same time, the name and the course of "*rhetoric*" remained in the curriculum.⁵¹

⁴⁷ In his *Metalogicon*, *Policraticus*, *Letters*, and other works.

⁴⁸ Cp. Curtius, *E.L.L.M.A.*, *passim*.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ On the "*Ars dictaminis*" in the Middle Ages, cp. Abelson, *S.L.A.*, pp. 60-71, and Curtius, *E.L.L.M.A.*, pp. 75-76.

⁵¹ Thus John of Salisbury tells us in his *Metalogicon*, ii, 10, that he studied rhetoric under various teachers, including Thierry of Chartres. The latter included this subject in his noted *Heptateuchon*, *supra cit.*

During the dynamic twelfth century, mediaeval philological and literary studies first reached their apogee and then were unseated from their position of preference among the liberal arts. Henri d' Andeli's thirteenth century *Battle of the Seven Arts* (ca. 1250) describes the contest between "logic" and "grammar", which ends in the victory of the forces of dialectics, under the standard of Paris, over those of philology or the "*auctores*", under the banner of Orleans.⁵² The study of philosophy was on the increase, and something had to "give". While the essentials of Latin grammar still continued to be studied and mastered as the "*sine qua non*" of scholarship, that which "gave" and now received diminished attention was the extended study of the "*auctores*" and the more advanced refinements of rhetorical adornment. Neglect of the "*auctores*" was deplored by John of Garland in his *Morale scolarium* (1241).⁵³ The set-back experienced by philology was particularly acute in the Universities, which fact is not surprising, since the latter were, by virtue of the circumstances of their origin, strongholds of professional training. The Scholastics were inclined to look down on artistic literature as compared with philosophy and science. Nevertheless philological and literary studies were by no means totally eclipsed, even in the thirteenth century. Evidences of this include, for example, the activities of John of Garland, who continued to teach in the old manner in Paris itself, and also the *Catalogue of Many Authors* (ca. 1280) of Hugh of Trimberg, who lists eighty standard authors many of whom he himself taught in the school at Bamberg.⁵⁴ It is also attested by the continued reputation for classical studies still maintained by certain schools, such as that of Orleans.⁵⁵ There is no doubt that many teachers continued to instruct in the old manner in Germany, Italy, and England, as well as in France. The partial lapse was only temporary, and the fluctuating "balance" was more than "restored" by the Renaissance humanists, who made philological and literary studies the core of the curriculum in general education of the laity.

While it is no difficult matter to establish the presence of

⁵² Ed. L. J. Paetow, in his *Battle of the Seven Arts*, *supra cit.*

⁵³ Johannes de Garlandia, *Morale scolarium*, ed. and tr. L. J. Paetow (Berkeley, U. of California, 1927).

⁵⁴ *Ut supra cit.*

⁵⁵ Cp. Henri d' Andeli, *Op. supra cit.*

humanism in mediaeval education, what shall be said of the second Renaissance ideal of the "*uomo universale?*" In its fully developed form, this somewhat worldly ideal seems to have been absent from the training of clerics. Yet it is believed that practically all the ingredients combined by Renaissance theorists in their broad pedagogical prospectus were already present in various mediaeval educational activities. It has even been maintained that Renaissance pedagogy was simply the result of grafting earlier mediaeval monastic academic education on the chivalric training of the High Middle Ages.⁵⁶ While there is some argument for this position, it does seem extreme. At the same time, it is indubitable that the two main elements of the broad Renaissance program, the intellective or academic on the one side, and the physical and social on the other, had already been evolved in previous mediaeval academic and chivalric education.

On the intellective or academic side, practically all subjects of the Renaissance program were included in the mediaeval study of the liberal arts and cultivation of philosophy. Throughout the Middle Ages the liberal arts were regarded as fundamental. They had been inherited from the Greeks and Romans; their number was symbolically fixed at seven. They were never permitted to fall into oblivion and were generally held in high esteem. These "seven pillars of wisdom" familiarized the student with the verbal arts and literature, grounded him in logic and some philosophy, and introduced him to mathematics and natural science. Incidentally music was included in the mathematico-scientific quadrivium, history in the verbal and dialectical trivium.

The blossoming of philosophy in the High Middle Ages further helped to stimulate the development and cultivation of the natural and social sciences.⁵⁷ In mediaeval times, as in antiquity, "*philosophia*" was a much broader term than it is today. In the twelfth century, for example, it embraced in current parlance, all organized and generalized learning, including not only metaphysics and other branches of philosophy, but also the natural

⁵⁶ Cp. Fossey J. Hearnshaw, "Chivalry and Its Place in History," in Edgar Prestage, ed., *Chivalry . . .* (London, K. Paul, 1928), pp. 21-22.

⁵⁷ The development of natural and social sciences in the High Middle Ages is witnessed by numerous translations of scientific and mathematical works from Arabic and Greek to Latin, as well as by a flood of "*libelli de lite*" and other tracts on political theory and law.

and social sciences, and even the liberal arts and theology itself.⁵⁸ The great development of philosophical studies in the High Middle Ages accordingly meant a broadening and deepening of many fields of learning. This was one reason why logic attained such prominence, as the universal method of attaining scientific knowledge. For the scholastic of the High Middle Ages, as for the philosopher of the Hellenic Golden Age, universal reality was the object of his study. Both the concept and practice of the "seven liberal arts" and "philosophy" in the High Middle Ages suggest and denote comprehensive coverage.

But what of physical and social training? Were they, too, present in Middle Ages? Formal education in the mediaeval era consisted principally of two types: clerical and chivalric. In the education of clerics the inculcation of social virtues and adaptation to community living was sufficiently important to be considered indispensable. Moreover, clerics were being trained to perform a definite function in society. This was social education, although not, of course, the sort exactly suited to those being prepared for lay life. The latter, however, was to be found in chivalric education. It is also to be noted that mediaeval theorists, as their ancient predecessors, believed in fostering both bodily and mental health by adequate diet and sufficient recreation.⁵⁹

The real forebear of Renaissance physical and social training was, however, chivalric education. By the twelfth century the latter had, as is well known, become quite complex. Everything that is said concerning the ideal traits proper to the knight in chivalric literature implies, somewhere along the line, an effort to inculcate the same in those who aspired to this position. Besides intensive military training, the preparation of the knight involved, of necessity, considerable physical education. It also included social adaptation, the inculcation of good manners and polite graces, the instilling of concepts of honor and loyalty, and some indoctrination in the idea of a responsibility to society. This last is implied in the view of the knight as a champion of

⁵⁸ Thus John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, i, 1, 24; ii, 2, 10, 13, 15; iv, 14, 38; and Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalion*, i, 1, 4, 5; ii, 1, 3, 6-11, 13, 14, 18, 19. Cp. also Louis J. Paetow, *Two Mediaeval Satires*, *ut supra cit.*, pp. 20, 21, 27.

⁵⁹ Cp., for example, John of Salisbury's *Metalogicon*, i, 7, the *Rule of St. Benedict*, Chs. 39-40, Vincent of Beauvais, *Op. cit.*, Ch. 21, and Egidio Colonna, *Op. cit.*, Bk. II, Pt. ii, Chs. 11-12 on food and drink; also the first (John), i, 11, and the last mentioned (Egidio), Ch. 13 on recreation.

the weak and oppressed, as well as by the whole code of chivalric ethics.⁶⁰ To find the elements of physical, military, and social training, the Renaissance theorist had no need to grope his way back into the mists of antiquity. For these elements were already at hand, constituting, as they did, part and parcel of knightly training. In this connection, it is to be observed that most Renaissance treatises on pedagogy directly concerned the education of members of the lay aristocracy, of whose training the aforesaid were already traditionally a part, and were addressed to members of royalty or nobility.⁶¹ Furthermore, in those instances where the ideal of well rounded development including physical, military, and social training, found its fullest expression, there was explicit reference to the education of aristocracy and rulers.⁶²

Regarding the final salient feature of Renaissance educational theory, its Christian religious and moral aspect, there can be no doubt of direct inheritance from the Middle Ages. For the strong Christian religious consciousness and moral emphasis of mediaeval education and pedagogical speculation is so well known as hardly to need reference. Even a cursory examination of any of the mediaeval educational treatises that have been mentioned, such as those of Cassiodorus, Rhabanus Maurus, Thierry of Chartres, Hugh of St. Victor, Conrad of Hirschau, John of Salisbury, Vincent of Beauvais, and Egidio of Colonna, will establish, beyond the possibility of any doubt, that this consideration is uppermost.⁶³ Which feature of Renaissance pedagogical theory is a direct and indisputable carry-over from the Middle Ages.

It has been seen that mediaeval educational theory and practice, coupled with existing conditions and needs, provided a sufficient basis for the Renaissance pedagogical program. It is thus unnecessary to postulate any preponderant dependence on the ancient. In fact, there were important differences between Renaissance educational theory and that of classical antiquity.

⁶⁰ Cp. Fossey J. Hearnshaw, in Prestage, ed., *Chivalry*, ut supra cit., pp. 21-24.

⁶¹ The treatise of Vergerius was addressed to the son of Lord Francesco of Padua, that of L. Bruni to Lady Baptist da Montefeltro, that of Aeneas Sylvius to the youthful King of Hungary, that of B. Guarino to M. Gambara of Brescia, that of Vives to King João III of Portugal, and Erasmus' *De Pueris insituendis* to Duke William of Cleves.

⁶² Thus in the teaching practices of Vittorino da Feltre and Guarino da Verona, and in the treatises of Aeneas Sylvius and Castiglione.

⁶³ In their works above cited.

In the first place, there can be no question of attempting to trace Renaissance theory back directly to the Greek. The pedagogical speculations of Plato and Aristotle were merely an important aspect of their political theory.⁶⁴ Renaissance educational theory was not composed as part of any such comprehensive plan. It also differs in many other important respects from the Platonic and Aristotelian, especially in the much greater relative importance it attaches to literature as distinguished from philosophy. Nor does Renaissance theory bear much resemblance to the mainly militaristic conceptions of Xenophon, or the predominantly moralistic ones of Plutarch.⁶⁵

If anything, Renaissance educational theory is much more closely related to the Latin pedagogical treatises of Cicero and Quintilian.⁶⁶ It is the latter which Renaissance treatises generally quote, and to which they are usually referred. Both of these ancient treatises, however, immediately concerned the training of orators, which is by no means the principal object of Renaissance educational speculation. The pedagogical writings of Cicero and Quintilian are also comparatively more restricted in their conception and treatment. Renaissance educational theory was, on the other hand, much broader and more general. Ancient classical education had grown much "like Topsy," and was often as poorly coordinated. More primitive systems of physical and martial training and civic and religious habituation existed side by side with more recently introduced grammatical and rhetorical instruction and sophistical and philosophical education, and this without much apparent mutual reference or coordination. It remained for Renaissance educational theory to make a comprehensive synthesis of such features and to incorporate subsequent elements. Most important among the latter was the strong Christian moral and religious consciousness which it inherited from the Middle Ages.

By way of summary, it may be concluded that although Renaissance educational theory bore certain resemblances to and derived both support and inspiration from the ancient classical,

⁶⁴ Thus Plato presents his educational theory in his *Republic* and *Laws*, and Aristotle especially in his *Politics*.

⁶⁵ Cf. Xenophon, *Cyropediea*, tr. W. Miller, 2 vols. (N. Y., Macmillan, 1914-1925) and Plutarch, tr. C. W. Super, in his *Plutarch On Education* (Syracuse, Bardeen, 1910).

⁶⁶ Especially to Cicero's *De Oratore* and Quintilian's *Institutes of Oratory*.

it was not a mere resuscitation of the latter. Rather, both as to composition and content, it evolved naturally out of the mediaeval, which itself had many similar ties with the classical. Renaissance theory was distinguished from the mediaeval chiefly by its more thorough-going humanism and its broader program of instruction. But Renaissance humanism differed from mediaeval humanism in degree rather than in essence. And the broader program of Renaissance pedagogy may well be attributed to the coordination of various features of mediaeval educational activities in the liberal arts, philosophical studies, and chivalric training. These two differences—of greater humanism and broader program—resulted largely from the fact that typical Renaissance theorists had primarily in mind the general education of lay leaders, whereas mediaeval theorists were mainly concerned with the training of clerics. In its third salient feature, its Christian religion and moral aspect, Renaissance educational theory agreed essentially with the mediaeval. That its emphasis in this regard was somewhat less, was also largely due to inevitable differences between the clerical and lay states of life. The Renaissance synthesis was partly foreshadowed by twelfth century humanism, by the blossoming of chivalry and philosophy in the High Middle Ages, and by thirteenth century treatises concerning the general education of lay leaders. The historical process in the development of pedagogical speculation was continuous, and there was no occasion for a prodigious and incongruous leap back over a thousand years. Much more than is commonly realized, Renaissance educational theory was a descendant of the mediaeval, itself an offspring of classical and Christian antiquity.

WE BEGIN on the next page a new series of articles intended to be of immediate value to the active teacher. The format will vary, as will the subject matter treated. Any suggestions, inquiries, or criticisms will be most welcome.

TEACHING SOCIAL HISTORY

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History is a complex discipline. Under certain aspects it is easy to handle; under others, quite difficult. Consequently, it presents many problems in instructional presentation.¹ History is comparatively easy to handle because it has the intrinsic interest of any good, absorbing story, filled with dramatic incidents, striking characters, challenging ideas and ideals, and the development and solution of intriguing problems affecting all areas of society.

Of course, history, like even the best story, can be made dull by a poor presentation. This may be due to many things: for instance, a lack of knowledge on the part of the instructor; monotonous, unvaried classes; or a concentration on minutiae often exacted as memory work.² Another hazard which the history instructor must face is the ever-present necessity of being prepared for each class. Not that this is a problem peculiar to history teachers, but it can happen, in other disciplines, that the instructor, "caught short," can redeem himself with repetitive techniques. A teacher of grammar can fall back on a drill of previously studied declensions. A teacher of literature can catechize the pupils concerning the principles of interpretation. A teacher of mathematics can have the class work another series of problems. And, in all these, the pupils stand to gain. Drill in grammar or word forms leads to greater facility in languages. Repetition of the principles of interpretation promotes a better appreciation of literary masterpieces. Solution of similar problems will give added mastery in the processes of mathematical operations. But a history class will not profit much from the repetition (in drill) of the succession of the Kings of France. This does not mean, of course, that *proper* review of previously studied matter has no place in the teaching of history.

¹ There is no intent here to consider such questions as a philosophy of history, a frame of reference, or the like. The purpose is to recall suggestions relating to some practical aspects of presentation.

² During a recent pre-college counselling session, the author, struck with the seemingly uncommon number of students who had listed history as the least-liked high school subject, attempted to determine the reasons. By far, the majority of disaffected students pointed to an emphasis on memory work, centering around a plethora of dates, genealogical tables, and the like. Of course, memory work, relating to *essential* information is always necessary.

The following suggestions are merely indicative of some means which the history teacher might find useful in adding interest to the classwork.³ United States Social-Cultural History is used here as an example.

The teacher will find many excellent books (some now in paper-bound editions), either source or special studies, which can be used to add lively detail or illustration to the presentation. Among these volumes are: Henry Steele Commager and Allan Nevins, eds., *The Heritage of America*; F. W. Halsey, *Great Epochs in American History*; A. B. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*; Allen Johnson, ed., *Chronicles of America*; Mark Sullivan, *Our Times*; G. M. Wrong and H. H. Langton, eds., *Chronicles of Canada*. Excellent collections of contemporary foreign views of America will be found in such works as: Henry Steele Commager, ed., *America in Perspective*, and Oscar Handlin, ed., *This Was America*. Of course, good biographies, special studies (such as F. R. Dulles, *America Learns to Play*) contemporary commentaries (like P. F. Dunne's "Mr. Dooley" books), monographs (each volume in Dixon Ryan Fox and A. M. Schlesinger, eds., *History of American Life*), and encyclopedia articles will also serve as sources for interesting peripheral or background information.

As auxiliaries the following kinds of projects may be useful:

1. *Bulletin board.* A well-kept bulletin board attracts the interest of even the sophisticated college student. In the picture-filled magazines of today (popular, scientific, industrial, etc.), with their illustrated articles and advertisements, one will find much fine material. Many fine pictures are reproduced on calendars (for instance, reprints of Currier and Ives series or the painting of Wyeth). Students can be relied on to help fill out the collection so that, in time, a library of illustrative material may be gathered. A series of pictures, for example, on the architecture and interior decoration of a colonial home will make much more effective the lecture on colonial home life.

2. *Visual aids.* Slides, motion pictures, recordings (of folk songs, for instance), exhibits and specimens are available for use through University film libraries, public library services, local or state historical societies. These agencies will supply a cata-

³ Perhaps teachers of history might be willing to add to or amend these suggestions. If so, the accumulated information might be shared in a subsequent article.

logue of their holdings. In some instances, their materials may be borrowed gratis; in others, a rental fee, generally nominal, may be levied.

3. *Tours* (guided, preferably) of local art and historical museums; visits to public or private buildings with historical murals or famous paintings. Travelling exhibits of American art (such as contemporary paintings of early Plains Indians) can serve as fine supplements to classwork or reading assignments. Akin to this suggestion is one that the teacher be alert to note special events (commemorative ceremonies, centenary celebrations, pageants, etc.), sponsored by the community or private enterprise. A case in point: in a midwestern city a fashion show was held in which one facet of the social history of that city was demonstrated by means of an exhibition of the dress of each successive period, along with a modern adaptation of the various styles.

4. *Student participation.* This may be achieved through oral reports,⁴ panel discussions, debates, symposia, dramatization, and the like. The subject matter could be: developments or cultural changes in architecture, art, religion, sports, styles, dramatics, industry, agriculture, and commerce. The study of local social agencies (from information gathered by the students through personal contact with those agencies), or of local social problems (city-planning, divorce, fluoridation, housing, juvenile delinquency), analysis of editorials and developing public opinion on such agencies and problems, will serve as questions to spark the students' active interest. A presentation of foreign views of America (of a Dickens, a Mrs. Trollope) could serve as a basis for discussion and evaluation.

5. *Using other disciplines.* Without interfering with the work done in another subject, the history teacher can and should make use of the information acquired by the student to supplement the history lesson. For instance, if a student has a class in American poetry, the teacher of history can show how Oliver W. Holmes's "The One Hoss Shay," or Edwin Markham's "Man with the Hoe," are trenchant *social* or *cultural* criticisms, respectively, of the collapse of Calvinist logic, as Holmes saw it, or of the developing revolt of the farmer against the industrial development, as Markham visioned it.

⁴ For one method of making more effective use of the oral report, see M. F. Hasting, S.J., "Oral Reports in the History Class," *The Historical Bulletin*, XXVI (November, 1947), 9-10.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS MEDIEVAL

The Chronicle of Jean de Venette, tr. by Jean Birdsall and ed. by Richard A. Newhall. New York. Columbia University. 1953. Pp. 354. \$5.00.

This work of a prominent Carmelite of the day treats French history during the eventful years 1340-1368. It is competently translated by the late Jean Birdsall on the basis of both the only printed edition by H. Géraud (Paris, 1843) and the important Arundel manuscript in the British Museum (not utilized by Géraud). This translation is edited by Professor Newhall with extensive scholarly notes, exceeding the text in length, and virtually providing a critical history of the period as well as a bibliographical guide. The *Chronicle* covers the first phase (1340-1360) of the Hundred Years' War, from its origins, through the battles of Sluys, Crecy, and Poitiers, to the Peace of Brétigny (1360). It also alludes to the activities of freebooters during the years 1361-1368. It is especially valuable for its information regarding internal disturbances during the years 1356 to 1358, including the Estates General of 1356, the revolutionary regime of Etienne Marcel (1357-1358), the peasants' revolt of 1358, and the antics of King Charles II of Navarre, as well as for Franco-Spanish relations in general from 1354 to 1366. The apparent credulity of the author, a Master of Theology, and long head of the French province of his order, relative to prognostigatory comets and verbal prophecies, is remarkable. The treatise begins and ends with comets, in support of whose function as portents Jean alludes to Bartholomew the Englishman and Bede. Prophecies are also quoted at length. Nonetheless, Jean is otherwise comparatively prudent in his judgments, and his narrative is a useful contributing source of information concerning certain events of French history from 1340 to 1368, and particularly for French internal history and relations with Navarre and Aragon from 1354 to 1366.

Daniel D. McGarry, Saint Louis University.

Studies in Early British History, by the late H. M. Chadwick and others. Edited by Nora K. Chadwick. Cambridge University Press. 1954. pp. vii, 282. \$6.00.

This set of studies should become a standard brief reference work and a valuable companion piece to the Oxford Histories for those who have a scholarly interest in that period of Celtic Britain extending from the departure of the Romans to the establishment of the Saxon kingdoms.

The Introduction by Mrs. Chadwick indicates her abilities both as an editor and as a social historian. Exception must be taken, nevertheless, with her statement that from the Romans the Celts "learned to think and act on the grand scale." This generality seems to mean that the Britons neither thought nor acted on "the grand scale" before the Roman occupation, an idea controverted by 1) the close relationship between the British Celts and the Celts of Ireland, who were able to think on something of a "grand scale" (if *Tain bo Cuailnge* be acceptable as an example) and who

were throughout the period a strong influence on their British cousins; 2) the relatively "grand" military ability of the Britons in 55 B.C. and later, as contrasted with the methodically successful but less heroically "grand" warfare of the Romans.

Perhaps the chief value of H. M. Chadwick's contributions—"The End of Roman Britain," "Vortigern," and "The Foundation of the Early British Kingdoms"—lies in his logical interpretation of all possible evidence. Indeed, as Chadwick points out, many works formerly quoted as merely vague, general aids to knowledge of the period (e.g., *Historia Brittonum* and the *Saxon Chronicle*), by judicious comparison with such evidence as dynastic and ecclesiastical genealogies and Welsh literature, yield a relatively detailed picture of persons and events during the Celtic era. Chadwick rather accurately establishes the time and circumstances of the Roman departure, the historical character of Vortigern, and the politico-military reality of the British kingdoms and their rulers.

Kenneth Jackson's dissertation on the British language is well done, although his forthcoming book on the subject should be free of the one fault of brevity marking this necessarily synoptic study. The articles concerning the early Welsh literary tradition and the intellectual contacts between Britain and Gaul reveal a close study of sources and a careful use of parallels with the Irish; Mr. Blair's study of the Bernicians is a valuable synthesis of the history of the northern frontiers. Quite significant, too, is Owen Chadwick's "Dedications in the Early Welsh Church;" this dispels a number of misconceptions arising from a desire among many less careful historians to see only eccentricity in the Celtic church.

On the whole, the studies themselves exemplify the careful sorting, analysis, and synthesis of evidence which should characterize all good historical scholarship. The purpose of the studies—to bring Celtic Britain into clearer focus—is more than fulfilled.

Austin J. Shelton, Mercy College, Detroit.

European Literature in the Latin Middle Ages, by Ernst R. Curtius, tr. from the German by Willard W. Trask. Bollingen Series XXXI. New York, Pantheon Books, 1953. pp. xv, 662. \$5.50.

Willard Trask has rendered an immense service to mediaeval scholarship in the English-speaking world by translating this significant *Opus majus* of a masterly German scholar, which originally appeared in 1948. The work itself is a sample of German research at its best. It combines intensive analytical investigation with broad synthesis of heroic proportions. Its main proposition is that antique Greco-Latin literary traditions continue throughout the Middle Ages. As such they become the foundations of modern literature at its best, and the story of Western literature is continuous from Homer to Goethe. In demonstration of his thesis, Curtius cites example upon example of how the themes and forms of antique literature are perpetuated and further evolved in the course of the Middle Ages. During the mediaeval period, too, the fruitful copulation of poetry, rhetoric, philosophy, and theology, begun in antiquity, is further completed. Especially do the topics and figures of ancient rhetoric, which was so highly

perfected, become the inalienable property and stock-in-trade of poetry. Particularly is this true of "topics" and "figures." According to antique rhetoric and continuing literary practice, "topics" are common sources or trains of thought. Among such are affected modesty or expression of one's sense of duty at the outset, indication of weariness at the completion of one's task or the running out of time at the conclusion, and the glorification of nature, the Muses, rulers, heroism, the ideals of "*fortitudo*" and "*sapientia*," and idealized sympathetic landscapes or fauna. Common "figures" ("*figurae*" or "*schemata*") of thought and language are likewise numerous, perhaps even more plenteous. Of these, metaphors are the principal. General categories include personal ones (from personal relations such as parenthood or filiation), alimentary ones (v.g. from food or drink), corporal ones (from the body and its members), theatrical ones (from features of drama and the circumstances of its presentation), and metaphors involving books, writing, and technical aspects of grammar and rhetoric. Some "degenerate" into the "baroque" forms of over-ornate "mannerisms," such as needlessly complex inversions of word-order, play on letters, and play on numbers. The concept of classical canons, originating in the Hellenistic period and its philological criticism, continues throughout the Middle Ages, to be handed on to the modern period.

Curtius limits himself to the study of continuity in the Latin literature of the Middle Ages, but says that the transference of its lore and principles to vernacular literature was one of the principal reasons for the flowering of the latter in the High Middle Ages. He observes that we cannot really understand modern literature without taking cognizance of its mediaeval and ancient backgrounds. He further observes that the interrelationship of traditional external configurational expressions and of internal thought is so vital that without it, European literature will lose both its integrity (or identity) and its greatness. There are occasional slips. Thus the classification of Boethius as a pagan is allowed to pass without observation (p. 260), Winrich of Treves is in one place said to have taught in the cathedral school (p. 260), in another referred to as a teacher in a monastery (p. 433), and the Migne edition of Hugh of St. Victor's *Didascalion* is quoted (p. 480) in ignorance or oblivion of the more recent, much superior critical edition by C. Buttmer (1939). But, all in all, both the monumental work and its excellent, careful translation are inestimable boons to the student of literature and the historian of culture.

Daniel D. McGarry, Saint Louis University.

Western Civilization, by F. J. Aspenleiter, S. J. Chicago. Loyola University Press. 1953. pp. 565.

Experienced teachers will agree that one of the most serious problems in teaching Social Studies in High Schools is the inability of the students to understand their texts. No matter how skilled the teacher, and regardless of his ability to motivate, unless he is aided by a readily understood text, he is seriously handicapped. Teachers having this difficulty will welcome *Western Civilization*. The author has endeavored to lessen the so-called "reading problem" in World History courses by writing a well-organized book in terms that can be understood by the average high school student.

The text makes no pretense at being an encyclopedia of world history; and, although the author has emphasized only the most important topics and concepts, it is no epitome. It is thoroughly readable, easy to understand, the sentences are not too long, and the vocabulary is suitable for the average student.

Simplicity of language and excellent organization are only two of the admirable features of the book. Numerous maps and charts, many of them original, have been carefully selected. The pictures and illustrations are invaluable visual aids and furnish strong motivation for study. At the end of each of the eighteen chapters into which the book is divided, there is a list of historical fiction arranged according to topics. A workbook, containing map problems and various exercises, accompanies the text.

This book, in this reviewer's opinion, meets a definite need for a brief, up to date, understandable text in world history.

James F. Robinson, Saint Louis University High School.

MODERN

Pius X, A Country Priest, by Igino Giordani. Translated by Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Tobin. Milwaukee. Bruce, 1954. pp. 205. \$3.25.

This biography of St. Pius X was written in anticipation of his canonization by a distinguished author who knew the Pope personally. Although the book necessarily emphasizes the external activities of Giuseppi Melchiorre Sarto, it does not fail to reveal also the saintly spirit which animated them.

The narrative proceeds in chronological order from the birth of Giuseppi on July 2, 1835 at Riesi in Northern Italy to his death at the Vatican on August 19, 1914.

Only the first twelve pages deal with his life prior to his ordination to the priesthood on September 18, 1858. To be ordained he had to obtain a papal dispensation since he was not yet twenty-four years old.

After nine years as assistant in the parish at Tombolo, he was unexpectedly appointed pastor at Salzano. He was then selected as chancellor of the diocese and spiritual director of the seminary at Treviso. Despite his objections he was elevated at the age of 49 to the bishopric of Mantua and thereafter promoted to the Patriarchate of Venice and to the cardinalate. It is a remarkable fact that he served in each of these five positions for exactly nine years each.

He may be called a compromise candidate for the papacy and was not elected until the fourth day of the conclave of 62 cardinals. Soon after his coronation on August 9, 1903, he announced the slogan of his reign: "To restore all things in Christ."

All his public pronouncements stress the need of the true interior Christian spirit. With this end in view he labored for a wider reading of Scripture, for early and daily Communion, for the perfect formation of the clergy, for vigorous Catholic Action by the laity, for the spread of Gregorian Chant. He also set up the commission to codify Canon Law. Meantime he fought for the rights of the Church against the hostile

governments of France, of Portugal and of Italy. His encyclicals destroyed the heresy of Modernism within the Church.

But the book reveals that the Pope was always the holy man. He was marked by the spirit of poverty, of mortification, of prayer, of simplicity, of cheerfulness, of brotherly love for all men. He wanted no fanfare or external pomp unless they were enlivened by the right internal spirit.

The book is intended for popular reading, not for the scientific historian. But even the latter may find personal anecdotes that he will not find elsewhere, and certainly he will develop an enthusiasm for the new saint from a perusal of this book.

Clarence McAuliffe, St. Mary's College, Kans.

Vanguard of Nazism, by Robert G. L. Waite. Cambridge. Harvard University Press. 1952. pp. 332. \$6.00.

This work, published as volume LX of Harvard Historical Studies, draws largely on primary sources, such as German, British and American parliamentary records and document collections; it refers furthermore liberally to memoirs, contemporary pamphlets, articles, all kinds of related monographs, etc., which cover the whole period from the autumn of 1918 on. An almost complete bibliography and a very elaborate index seem to this reviewer to be the most valuable parts of this clearly written and solidly documented study. Besides useful details not much has been unveiled which would have been hitherto unknown. The main point that National Socialism and its ideology really began after World War I, needed of course hardly any special emphasis.

In a final chapter (X) the author draws his conclusions. This reviewer shares his opinion about the political leanings of the freebooters. "They fought Communism, not because they hated it, but primarily because they liked fighting and the 'Red Peril' of the post-war period gave them an excuse to fight" (p. 271). They were trained to believe in Nihilism, Activism, Opportunism, and as a result in wanton destruction. The author quotes Hitler's words in a revealing conversation with Hermann Rauschning: "There is more that binds us to communism than separates us from it. . . . There is, above all, revolutionary feeling. . . . I have always made allowance for this circumstance, and given orders that former communists are to be admitted to the party at once. . ." (p. 273). Furthermore the author correctly makes it a point that the incredible leniency of German courts in criminal cases against political lawbreakers, including killers, had its far-reaching, demoralizing effects. Indeed the breakdown of the judiciary is always the beginning of the end of an established political order.

On the other hand the author shows a tendency to belittle the "Red Peril" in Germany, which by no means "probably only existed between Christmas eve 1918 and New Year 1919" (p. 58). Here it would be interesting to trace Russian influence and efforts directed towards the establishment of a Soviet-Germany, very much against the will of the majority of the German electorate. The failure was not the original Free Corps-Movement as such, but the fatal omission to integrate them in time into the regular army.

The author writes in his preface: ". . . I discovered early in my research that my sympathies were not with those First soldiers of the Third Reich. Indeed I despised everything they stood for. . ." (p. VIII). Most of those who saw them in action, not dreaming of meeting them again later on in a carefully documented analysis of a Harvard doctoral dissertation, will agree fullheartedly with this post-mortem. Only, what stood they for?

After all, for those who lived immediately after World War I in Berlin, or Essen, or Munich, or Budapest, the freebooters might have easily appeared in similar light as did the Red Army in 1945, to millions of Eastern Germans. We are looking back at a nightmare; just like the Eastern Germans of today remembering the days of their liberation. Any Leviathan, 20th Century edition, needs men in physical and mental uniform, as its cheap and expendable technical tools.

Some misleading misprints in German translation could easily be corrected, e.g. (p. 60) "deliberate" means in German "beraten". The Schlageter Monument on the Golzheimer Heide (near Duesseldorf) was not unveiled by the Nazis on May 24, 1933, but erected long before in commemoration of the student Theo Schlageter (executed by a French court-martial as a saboteur during the Ruhr-occupation) as a deliberate religious symbol by his Catholic friends; the shrine was built and conceived by the well-known builder of modern churches, architect Clemens Holzmeister from Vienna, who was in the pre-Hitler time, a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Duesseldorf, who later, as a fervent anti-Nazi, had to emigrate and went to Turkey.

These and some other minor inexactnesses do not diminish the value and authenticity of this well-done book, and the author deserves high credit for having written a fairly objective and comprehensive history of the Free Corps Movement in pre-Hitler-Germany whose existence indeed was well known in the English speaking world, but whose ever increasing political and social momentum as an underground-and-resistance organization in the Weimar Republic, with law codes and even law enforcement (Femegegerichte) of its own, was hardly ever realized abroad and anyway hopelessly under-rated. Without this underground there would not have been a January 30, 1933, which brought Hitler to power, and therewith started deliberate preparation for World War II.

Kurt von Schuschnigg, Saint Louis University.

A History of France, by Lucien Romier. Translated and completed by A. L. Rowse. New York. St. Martin's Press. 1953. pp. 487. \$6.50.

This posthumous work of the French scholar Lucien Romier, eminent both as historian and publicist, has now appeared in English through the efforts of Professor A. L. Rowse. In somewhat less than 500 pages the history of France is sketched from earliest times to June, 1944, the period of the allied liberation of Paris. A little more than a fourth of the book is devoted to the period prior to the Renaissance and the beginning of modern history. The era of the French Revolution and Napoleon has been remarkably condensed to some fifty-five pages. Written in a laudably clear and unaffected style, this book, may readily be recommended to those

wishing to have an accurate and interesting guide to French history. The author has succeeded very well in delineating the major themes of his subject. Details are skillfully subordinated to the outstanding events, and the reader is never bewildered by too many names. Professor Romier seems to be at his best in describing institutional life and its changes. Two particularly good chapters in this respect are chapter IV in Part II, "The Civilisation of the 13th Century," and chapter IV in Part IV, "The French Monarchy at the Crossroads."

Three maps and eight illustrations serve to illustrate the text. There are, unfortunately, no genealogical charts or chronological tables. The index is brief but serviceable. In conclusion one may state that here is a history which combines good scholarship, literary discrimination, and a fair-minded interpretation of France today in the light of its past.

Bernard C. Weber, University of Alabama.

Hilaire Belloc: No Alienated Man, by Frederick Wilhelmsen. New York.
Sheed and Ward. 1953. pp. 108. \$2.75.

This short study of Belloc makes no attempt to be either a biography or a study of all his works. It confines itself to studying Belloc as one of the last examples of "Christian integration." An excellent chapter on "History from Within" analyzes and defends Belloc's historical writings. Professional historians who find themselves irritated by Bellocian generalizations and by his apparent identification of the Catholic Church with Western Europe will profit from reading this chapter. The author explains that Belloc wrote even more against German idealism than against English Whiggery, and that as a member of a living Church he identified himself with its European past in a way professional historians consider unscholarly. To dismiss Belloc cavalierly, as many historians do, is itself a sign of poor scholarship. His frontal attack on the established historiographies of Germany and England has resulted in important modifications in both schools of history writing. This short study shows why Belloc launched his attacks and how his theses have made an important impress on European historiography.

Thomas P. Neill, Saint Louis University.

The Incompatible Allies. A Memoir-History of German-Soviet Relations, 1918-1941, by Gustav Hilger and Alfred G. Meyer. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1953. pp. xiii, 350. \$5.00.

Mr. Hilger, German citizen born in Moscow and educated in Germany, lived most of his life in Russia and was a leading representative of Germany there from 1918 to 1941. Mr. Meyer, born in Westphalia and receiving his early education in Germany, is an American, educated at Harvard, who, as Assistant Director of the Russian Research Center, collaborated with Mr. Hilger in the production of this book. The resulting "Memoir-History," therefore, has the virtue of combining the eyewitness information of a participant with the academic research of a trained scholar. On the debit side, however, with the exception of some delightful pen-pictures of characters from Chicherin to Hitler, it loses the warmth of a memoir and the narrative is cold, factual and diplomatic. While historians will be

grateful for a first rate, primary historical document, they will probably wish Mr. Hilger, after the manner of Procopius, to write a *Secret History* for publication in the year 2000.

As Second Counselor serving as aide to the German Ambassadors in Moscow, Mr. Hilger played a leading part in the political, economic and military relationships between the two countries. He confirms what we know of the collaboration between the Weimar Republic and the Soviet and adds new details. He was always convinced that Germany and Russia must get along together; he worked for harmony between Nazis and Soviets and reached his greatest success in the Nazi-Soviet accords of August, 1939. To Mr. Hilger the Polish Corridor was more important to Germany than Poland itself to the Poles, and the Baltic states were of no importance. There seems to have been only the slightest misgiving at the time that the treaties of 1939, due in part to the advice of Hilger to Hitler, would plunge the West into war. It was only the unilateral action of Hitler in June, 1941, that upset Hilger's little red wagon, and on the last page of the memoir he is still saying that there is proof "that a bourgeois state can maintain relations with the Soviet Union which are useful and not immediately dangerous as long as it is at least as strong, or at most as weak, as the Soviet Union."

Many fine minds see in the opposition of Catholics to Sovietism an opposition resting merely on religious grounds and hence easily dismiss it. Western minds, imbued with a philosophy of Pragmatism (linked with some sentimental feelings about liberty, humanity, etc.), cannot understand the force that philosophy has had and still has in historical movements. Over thirty years ago the Russian state put an integrated philosophy into operation and this writer has not yet perceived a dent in the armor. The tactical retreat of the New Economic Policy, the jettisoning of "ideological ballast" (p. 296) in the late thirties, and the joviality of Stalin at Yalta all fit into the one picture; there has been change, but the goldfish are in the same bowl.

In fine, Mr. Hilger has given us a remarkably excellent picture of German-Soviet relations. He has portrayed, however, a mind in which the old diplomacy is still active, a diplomacy that is as dead as a neanderthal skull—or should be.

Henry Callahan, Boston College.

Modern German History, by Ralph Flenley. New York. E. P. Dutton & Co.
1954. 406 pp. \$6.00.

There are not many English texts available for class-room use in introductory courses of German History. The work of Professor Flenley of the University of Toronto meets an obvious and growing demand and will be highly welcomed. He certainly deserves high credit for having successfully done, in a well organized and readable manner, what might seem rather difficult to achieve; it is no easy matter to cover modern German history from the Reformation to the present time, from the Diet of Worms (1521) to the Bonn Bundestag, in some four hundred pages. The attentive reader will find it stimulating and profitable alike to follow the competent and objective guidance by the scholarly author from the Reformation era,

through the rise of Prussia and the intellectual and literary revival of the eighteenth century, the remaking of Germany through the French Revolution, the many ups and downs of the nineteenth century, the spectacular unification of Germany under Bismarck, the economic, social and cultural trends at the eve of World War I, to the Weimar Republic and the end of the Nazi-Dictatorship.

The main accent is laid on a clear and non-dogmatic evaluation of the shifting social, economic and cultural trends. Diplomatic history and questions of political organisation are blended into the picture, but only in complementary shades, as far as necessary to elucidate the general background. This fact of course suggests to the student extensive additional reading.

The fair, thoroughly objective and comprehensive interpretation of the results of the Reformation for Germany, the sketches of Lessing, Herder, Goethe, Schiller, Kant, Richard Wagner, Nietzsche, the evaluation of Bismarck's achievements and shortcomings, eventually the final conclusions, belong to the best written chapters of this, as a whole, highly useful and laudable history text.

Since no book can possibly satisfy all claims and there is, especially in history, always space left open for another chapter, or a revision of minor importance, also in this case some critical remarks may confirm the established rule.

Characters like Wallenstein or Prince Eugen of Savoy should not be almost entirely ignored in any narrative of seventeenth-eighteenth century German history. The Romanticist movement, the dramatic struggle between the Greater-German and the Little German concept, the impact of Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism, the metamorphosis of nineteenth century liberal-democratic thought, German constitutionalism and the problems involved, could perhaps be more emphasized. Particularly from an Austrian view, the neglect of the supra-national element in a German concept of central and central-eastern European integration is bound to lead to an unjustified underrating of the Austrian contribution to German civilization. Was it necessarily a shortcoming, in every respect, that because of the particular features and weaknesses of the old empire, the Germans were late in copying the pattern of the highly centralized national state of their western neighbours? It is not true that nationalism and imperialism finally caused chaos in the very heartlands of the old continent. For these and other reasons this reviewer disagrees with the author's judgment that the (German-Austrian) alliance was "a mistake of the first magnitude" (284). It could well have served his purpose and the general interest of international peace, but for the mistakes committed by Bismarck's successors, and the unbridled nationalistic passions of the smaller clients of Russia. As to the question of unilateral war-guilt in World-War I, the author's conclusion does not seem to heed documentary evidence obtained from the different archives. This reviewer still holds the opinion that responsibility is fairly equally shared by the acting powers, Russia certainly not to be omitted.

The basic divergence of opinion is best expressed in the author's statement in his introductory chapter: "Despite the traditional and persistent

strength of localism in Germany it might have been possible to work out a system of political and administrative unity had the Habsburgs thought more in terms of Germany as a whole and less in terms of their Austrian lands and their European claims and position." (5)

The other version is that it was exactly *too much* thinking in terms of Germany as a whole, i.e. of a German national hegemony, which caused the downfall of continental Europe.

But these are just side-notes; they do not and are not intended to detract from the high value of a remarkable piece of objective, impartial and solidly founded historic writing.

Kurt V. Schuschnigg, Saint Louis University.

The Gentleman of Renaissance France, by William Leon Wiley. Cambridge. Harvard University Press. 1954. pp. xii, 303. \$5.00.

The renaissance concept of the gentleman was molded in Italy in the fifteenth century and given classic expression in the works of Castiglione and Della Casa. This norm of gentility was widely accepted in France by the time Francis I came to power in 1515. The period from then until the outbreak of the Civil Wars in 1560 is the period of the French renaissance gentleman.

This work is a study of the French renaissance gentleman's thought and conduct—mostly conduct. It describes his education, his manners and dress, his social life, his sports and diversion, and all those other things which constitute a gentleman's day-to-day living at any time in history. Professor Wiley's study is based on contemporary chroniclers and memoir-writers. It gives the flavor of the age in presenting a picture of the renaissance gentleman as seen by himself and by those close to him. This study by a professor of French does not alter the picture of the age commonly held by historians. But it is useful for filling in details about the gentleman's daily life, his superstitions and his code of honor, his dealings with other gentlemen and with women—all those things which help make the past come to life. It offers much concrete material which the history teacher can use to illustrate the generalizations found in almost any textbook covering the period.

Thomas P. Neill, Saint Louis University.

Churches and Temples, by Paul Thiry, Richard M. Bennett, and Henry L. Kamphoefner. New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation. 1954. \$18.00.

This latest addition to the *Progressive Architecture Library* by three practicing architects attempts to set down the principle that should govern the designing and construction of modern Catholic and Protestant churches, and Jewish synagogues. It is the contention of the authors that architectural design should grow out of the specific uses to which a building is to be put. Since the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish religious rites are quite different, it would seem obvious that good church and temple design should grow out of and define those different religious usages. By an interesting historical induction, the authors show that great temple and church design in the past has always grown out of such adoption of design to religious function.

The authors also distinguish between truly modern and "modernistic" architecture—the former, the result of honest solutions to building problems and of resourceful handling of materials. The difficulty is that too many of those who are responsible for the planning of modern church buildings (churchmen and architects alike) are themselves incapable of distinguishing between good and bad architecture.

A good building is always the result of a careful analysis of the needs of those who are to use it and the best use of materials to meet those specific needs. After an introduction in which the authors discuss the difference between good and bad architecture, they analyse the specific needs of a Protestant and a Catholic church and of a Jewish synagogue, outline historical solutions to those needs, and suggest modern solutions based on modern conditions and structural materials.

The book is amply illustrated with over 600 halftones. It should prove especially helpful to architects and those planning church buildings, but it is broad enough in its treatment to be of interest to teachers of the history of architecture and art appreciation as well.

Maurice B. McNamee, Saint Louis University.

Church and Society: Catholic Social and Political Thought and Movements, 1789-1950, edited by Joseph N. Moody. New York. Arts, Inc. 1953. pp. 914. \$12.00.

There is a tendency for Catholics, as well as students outside the Church, to think of the Catholic Church moving through history much like a ship sailing across the sea. Such a picture of the Church fails to account for more than its most general aspects as a divinely founded institution. It fails to see Catholics—who comprise its human element—as also living in secular society, as trying to make ever new adjustments between the Church and the society in which they live. It fails to reveal the rich and sometimes disturbing diversity among Catholics on how to make day-to-day adjustments with secular society and how best to develop and realize the rich deposit of the Catholic faith.

Church and Society serves to counteract this oversimplification. It is not a history of the Church since the French Revolution; it is rather a study of the relation of Catholics to the major secular forces of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. "The sole concern of this volume," Father Moody explains, "is the social and political activity of Catholics, and their efforts to erect a theoretical structure that would satisfy the demands of their tradition amid the pressures of the age." Wide diversity of opinion among nineteenth-century Catholics on these matters is revealed by the thirteen authors contributing to this volume.

The contributions vary in length and, of course, in originality of interpretation and in quality of presentation. The book is rightly divided along national lines, for the social and political problems facing Catholics differed from nation to nation. The editor wrote the sections (of about 100 pages each) on the papacy in Italy and the Church in France. They are done with the scholarly care and penetrating understanding for which Father Moody is well known. A long (250 pages) section on Church and society in Germany is the best work on that subject to have appeared in English.

The author, Edgar Alexander, is a German scholar of note and a member of the former Center Party. Shorter sections deal with social and political movements among Catholics in Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Spain, and England. There are also short sections (fifty to seventy pages) on Latin America and the United States. Each section contains excerpts from the more important documents of the time.

This reviewer has only two complaints to make about this volume—and they nullify each other. The first is that its very extensive treatment of the subject under consideration has made the book big and put it beyond the price range of too many readers. The second is that it fails to treat Holland and Portugal, each with its peculiar interesting developments, and the Scandinavian countries. To do this, however, would make this study a two-volume affair and increase the price even more.

Church and Society is valuable in several respects. Its understanding interpretation of the difficulties facing Catholics in each country is the most penetrating of any work to have appeared in English. It covers certain areas very much neglected by students of Western culture: Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. It contains a wealth of information not otherwise easily accessible, information which any teacher or student of Church history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries should have at hand. This volume is not intended to serve as a textbook, but copies of it should be in every college library and in the hands of all those who profess to teach modern Church history.

Thomas P. Neill, Saint Louis University

AMERICAN

The Negro in American Life and Thought. The Nadir, 1877-1901, by Dr. Rayford W. Logan. Dial Press. New York. 1954. 380 pp. \$5.00.

Impatient critics and overzealous reformers who are tempted to decry a slow American rate of progress towards racial equality and integration may soften their verdicts and reconsider their views, if they ponder Dr. Logan's new work. For he now gives us a better basis for accurate measurement of change.

Compared with conditions of some ten or twelve years ago, change may seem to come slowly today. Viewed against the conditions of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, however, one of the most neglected periods of American history, the present status of the Negro (even in the South) may seem remarkable and incredible.

Such is Dr. Logan's thesis. He proceeds to show that the country as a whole was unprepared to integrate the emancipated Negro American after the Civil War, and that certain leaders and regions successfully obstructed any serious consideration of the problem. The subordinate position to which the Negro was forced again by policy and events in the post-Reconstruction South was generally accepted and approved by writers in Northern newspapers and magazines, the author finds.

Church opinion, says Dr. Logan (pp. 165-9 and 271-4), was strongly different. He singles out the three Protestant writers, Gladden, Abbott

and Rauschenbusch as particular proof of the prevalent unconcern. Of the Catholic position and attitude he says nothing in a rather strange indifference.

On the whole, this over-detailed compilation serves to call attention to an important period of our history. There yet remains a great need for an integrated approach, however, and for greater impartiality in judgment.

Raymond Bernard, Institute of Social Order, Saint Louis University.

California in the Making, by Rockwell Dennis Hunt. Caldwell, Idaho. The Caxton Printers. 1953. pp. xiv, 325. \$6.00.

Scholars and teachers have been honored with festschriften—studies in their honor by former students, or by having their life span of work gathered together. The latter is well illustrated in *California in the Making*. Rockwell Dennis Hunt, a native Californian fond and proud of his state's history, has served his profession and state for many years; in more than one sense he may be called the Dean of California historians. Receiving his undergraduate education at the College of the Pacific, he obtained his Ph.D. at Johns Hopkins in 1895. Acting at first as a young instructor at his alma mater, Dr. Hunt was then called to the University of Southern California where he served as professor for a number of years, and then for over a quarter of a century as the university's dean of graduate studies. Two years after his retirement in 1945 there was set up at the College of the Pacific the California History Foundation with Hunt as its first director, a position he still occupies. In the same institution the Rockwell Dennis Hunt chair in California History is now in process of being established.

During his long academic career, Professor Hunt has written extensively and gained a reputation as a scholar, teacher and writer, and his works have included the co-authoring of a good California history text. He has been profoundly interested in California's American period, the still bright and energetic youth of which caused him to give the title of *California in the Making* to this collection of twenty-three essays which range in subject matter throughout the American period and most of which were written and published between 1898 and 1952; one hitherto unpublished essay is included. These essays were gathered and printed designedly as a collected tribute to Professor Hunt and to stimulate the layman and uncritical reader of California history. It must be pointed out that most of the essays have been superseded by more recent scholarship. However, to the uncritical layman the volume presents a series of interesting pieces and displays a catholicity of selection so far as subjects are concerned. No theme runs through the work to establish a connected picture of California's story. In general the essays deal with varied events, isolated instances and coastal heroes.

Among the better pieces are to be found a chapter from Dr. Hunt's doctoral dissertation entitled "The Legal Status of California 1846-1848," which deals in scholarly fashion with the chaos of conflicting laws in the area as well as California's legal relation with the United States; a brief essay on pioneer Protestant preachers in California, and "1850: A Year of Destiny," which is primarily concerned with California's struggle to become a state and which attempts to delineate national and international

manifestations of the times. Several others of the essays savor unfortunately of Chamber of Commerce encomiums, praising unduly, perhaps, some of the state's better-known citizens. One rather interesting piece is entitled "If: Some Speculations on California History."

California in the Making is the stuff with which to while away a long winter's evening or two of pastime reading. In no sense is it intended to be a contribution to Californiana in the form of a text. In fact, as a native Californian, the reviewer would rather have the uninitiated peruse some of Dean Hunt's other texts before sitting down to read the present volume. Reading *California in the Making*, however, might be presumed to be more profitable than spending the time in front of the average television program. One is reluctantly constrained to feel that Dr. Hunt might better have rested on his already illustrious laurels than to have devoted his energies to the compilation of the present work.

A. P. Nasatir, San Diego State College.

Bibliography of German Culture in America to 1940, by Henry A. Pochmann and Arthur R. Schultz. Madison. University of Wisconsin Press. 1953. pp. xxxii, 483. \$6.50.

Reviews of bibliographical tools tend to be difficult to write since usually one can only try to find a few flaws with the compiler's work and agree that the book is useful. A review of the present bibliography can be little more than a declaration of thanks to the compilers and a recommendation to possible buyers that the work is well done. This bibliography will prove itself well worth its price and should be bought by every library of any size which pretends to have Americana in its collection. The authors are to be congratulated on their excellent index, their fine format and their choice of photo-offset as a printing medium. Under one cover we have collected several much smaller bibliographies on their subject. This one fact alone is enough to recommend the book. Though chiefly a research tool, the book is well edited and attractively handled. Often enough reference tools are not so done.

Joseph P. Donnelly, Saint Louis University.

The Civil War, by James Street. New York. Dial Press. 1953, pp. 144. \$3.00.

This is a most unusual survey of the 1861-65 conflict. No effort is made to treat in even outline-briefness the major civil and military events and leaders. The author considers whatever and whomever he believes necessary to debunk and unvarnish traditional thinking and opinion. The result is a distorted view of the war, but a picture not without a few brilliant interpretations. A lively interest and superficial reading, short of objective research, went into *The Civil War*. This is demonstrated by various factual errors and questionable interpretations. A vigorous, buoyant and homespun style, foot loose and fancy free, is another characteristic. Several selections will illustrate this quality: "Militarily, the Union had failed in Virginia during the year of 1862. The South looked mighty good. But how good was she? She wasn't winning; she just wasn't losing. Here was a clever welterweight fighting one heavyweight after another, and every time one heavyweight got knocked down another climbed through the ropes. It was like Sugar

Ray Robinson taking on John L. Sullivan, Jim Jeffries and Jack Johnson—one at a time and whipping 'em. But with Jack Dempsey and Joe Louis just waiting to get to him. It couldn't go on forever." Again: "The last great war between gentlemen started off in the stars and ended in the gutter. Eventually, the carpetbaggers were run out of the South or absorbed, and then came native sons seeking favors by waving the Stars and Bars and singing *Dixie*. These are still with us, always as infuriating as chiggers, sometimes as dangerous as tapeworms. An old Confederate veteran (he was my grandpa-in-law) heard one of these stump orators rhapsodizing the paths of glory that the South had trod in the Civil War. The old man called out, 'Wait a minute, brother! What the hell was civil about it?'" the book concludes: "I will not answer acrimonious letters. I will not answer the challenges of my sources unless the complainants list their sources for challenging me. I will ignore Southerners who call me a renegade, Southerners and Yankees who call me a biased hillbilly, a Jim Crowing poll-taxer, a reactionary, a fascist, a Communist or an egg-head. Don't write me that line that you learned your Civil War history at your grandma's knee. Grandma's knee is a rightly nice place to pray, but it's a poor place to learn history."

There are eight untitled chapters, no table of contents and no index. Likewise, the book does not include a bibliography. Numerous pen and ink drawings, some in color, together with wide margins and a readable type, go to make up an attractive page format. *The Civil War* was meant to be read, not studied.

LeRoy H. Fischer, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

Literary History of the United States, Revised edition in one volume, edited by Robert E. Spiller, Willard Thorp, Thomas H. Johnson and Henry Seidel Canby. New York. The Macmillan Co. 1953. pp. xxii, 1456. \$9.00. College ed. \$6.75.

Literary History of the United States was first published in 1948 in three volumes, two of text and one of bibliography. This single volume edition contains all of the first two volumes of the original edition plus a chapter of new material and a condensed bibliography. The bibliographical chapter in the new edition, of course, in no sense replaces volume three of the original; that 817-page listing has been reduced to twenty-one pages. But the new chapter has the advantage of having been brought forward to 1953 and it would seem to be entirely adequate for the non-specialist.

When this work first appeared it was generally hailed as superseding the Cambridge *History* as the best general account of American literature. That judgment will still stand.

In spite of its bulk (1456 pages) and its inclusiveness, this is not an encyclopedia or an Oxford *Companion*. The thorough index invites its use as a reference volume, but essentially this is a massive history of the United States. In the words of the editors, it "adopts an organic view of literature as a record of the experience of a people."

Fifty-five of the most distinguished scholars collaborated in this work. Such independent and varied authorities as Stanley Williams and Harry Levin, F. O. Matthiessen and Morton Zabel, H. L. Mencken and Malcolm

Cowley have been somehow welded into a single cooperative effort. The result is a volume which, without sacrificing the independence of each contributor, has been shaped into a coherent and readable narrative.

The principle seems to have been to have each contributor develop the areas and personalities that he especially admires. While this is perfectly sound procedure it makes for an equality of emphasis that would not be present if the project had come from a single mind or point of view. But, on the other hand, no one person is capable of writing this book. One could quarrel with this estimate or that throughout the work, but all in all it is difficult to see how a better history of American literature could have been written.

For future students of American culture the book will itself become an object of primary study. It will provide an accurate index of literary reputations and of the state of American taste and criticism in the mid-twentieth century.

The teacher of American history who wishes to enrich his lectures with allusions to the literature and culture of a period can do no better than to have this volume constantly at hand.

Charles T. Dougherty, Saint Louis University.

Valley of Democracy, by John D. Barnhart. Bloomington. Indiana University Press. 1953. pp. x, 338. \$5.00.

It is not often that an author takes pen in hand with the singleness of purpose that has motivated Professor Barnhart in *Valley of Democracy*. His purpose is that of "supplementing and completing Turner's work rather than . . . trying to refute it." It is "a testing of the Turner interpretation by an application to a specific area and time." The area is the Ohio Valley. The time is approximately 1790 to 1820, when Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were being carved from that Ohio Valley.

The author encounters the customary difficulties with the meaning of "democracy." His use of the term indicates that he is not thinking primarily of the mechanics of government; rather, it is the absence of certain socio-economic factors—the absence of slavery and the plantation system and the concentration of land characteristic of that system—which distinguishes democracy on the frontier. South of the Ohio River, the struggle for democracy had two major aspects. First, it was a struggle between the frontier and the established states which had formerly asserted ownership over the frontier areas. Secondly, it involved a local struggle between the planters and the yeomen farmers. Using Barnhart's definition, frontier democracy in the southern portion of the Ohio Valley failed to materialize; and, "only north of the Ohio were the forces working for democracy strong enough to check the advance of the planter."

The most important of these forces was apparently the national government. While the yeoman farmer was losing the struggle to the south, the frontier north of the Ohio River was developing under national law. Those social, economic, and political traditions of the mother states which had played such a prominent part in shaping Kentucky and Tennessee had little influence here. In this setting, the author asks the question, "Would the

nation prove to be a more successful colonizing power than Virginia or North Carolina?" Under national control would the leveling influence of the frontier "have greater or less opportunity to determine the social order of the states of the Old Northwest?" Again the implication is clear that democracy for the author is essentially social and economic rather than political. From the evidence, his conclusion that, in general, "national control made possible a freer expression of frontier democracy," seems justified.

The author does not overlook but does seem to underestimate the advantages of nature, such as climatic and geographic factors which contrived to limit the expansion of the plantation system in the northern half of the Ohio Valley. At one point he writes that these factors "did not make possible an agricultural regime based upon staple products such as cotton, rice, indigo, or tobacco." But this is little more than an offhand observation on his part. It has none of the clarity or finality that one finds, for example, in Daniel Webster's statement on this same point. During the debate over the Wilmot Proviso, Webster remarked, "I would not take pains uselessly to reaffirm an ordinance of nature, nor to reenact the will of God." Webster's observation concerning the future of slavery in the Southwest seems equally valid for the Old Northwest.

Barnhart's conclusions would appear to substantiate his and Turner's basic assumption. South of the Ohio conditions frustrated the growth of frontier democracy. North of the Ohio, where conditions nurtured it, political democracy eventually overtook social and economic democracy. But in both cases, in spite of the outcome, democracy was apparently inherent in the frontier environment.

George Wolfskill, William Jewell College.

The Books of the Colorado River and the Grand Canyon, a Selective Bibliography, by Francis P. Farquhar. Los Angeles. Glen Dawson. 1953. pp. xi, 75. \$5.00.

Antoine Robidoux, 1794-1860, by William S. Wallace. Los Angeles. Glen Dawson. 1953. pp. x, 59. \$5.00.

These two little volumes in the California Travels Series continue the excellence of the Series both in scholarship and in the book-maker's art. This reviewer considers it appropriate to congratulate the publisher on his most attractive font-type, make-up and style. The reader will immediately notice that the Series, as evidenced in these two examples, is the work of a true bibliophile.

Francis P. Farquhar's bibliography of the Colorado River does not pretend to be exhaustive since it is called a "selective bibliography". However, those who are acquainted with the literature concerning the Colorado will immediately perceive that the "selection" is done with a careful hand. The author has offered what is almost a critical bibliography of all the more important works about the Colorado. Students of the area will be grateful for the author's careful bibliographical notes as well as his critical estimate of the material he presents. This is not a lengthy bibliography on the Colorado, but it is certainly an important one.

The little biography of Antoine Robidoux which Mr. Wallace publishes in this series will be found to have attained an excellent scholarly level. Material in Robidoux is perhaps rather difficult to come by, chiefly because the whole Robidoux clan showed marked nomadic tendencies. A check of the author's notes will show the reader that a diligent search of sources was made in preparing the biography. This little volume will be welcomed in the middle west particularly currently when the Catholic Diocese of St. Joseph, Missouri, is celebrating the centenary of the Diocese.

Joseph P. Donnelly, Saint Louis University.

The America of José Martí. Selected writings translated by Juan de Onís
Introduction by Federico de Onís. New York. The Noonday Press. 1953.
335p., illus. \$4.50.

A genius of Hispanic American poetry, Rubén Darío, observed early in his career: "What is known as genius has raised its head twice in Spanish America; the first time in . . . Sarmiento, the second in Martí." These two figures, the Argentine teacher-president and the Cuban apostle of freedom, were nation-builders endowed with extraordinary gifts of communication by pen and tongue which they placed wholly at the service of their countries. To North Americans it is, perhaps, gratifying that both of these men of genius had first hand acquaintance with contemporary life in the United States through extended visits, and from its democratic ways they drew much stimulation in their endeavors to guide their countrymen toward political maturity. As a further coincidence both writers have left permanent records of sympathetic and discerning impressions of North American mores. Both these figures and their writings are still too little known by the American public, and it is well indeed that one of them can now be better appreciated through the small volume under review. Several of these admirably translated essays may well serve to substantiate the great *modernista* poet's judgment of Martí. Throughout the excellent text gleams and sparkles the Cuban writer's clear, fervent, and dynamic prose which reveals with emotional intensity his extraordinarily keen intellect and discerning mind. The selections are arranged in four groups designated as: The Other America (United States); Our America; Literary Portraits; and The Patriot. The first offers sketches of figures and facts of American life; the second, personalities and aspects of Spanish American life; the third, penetrating interpretations of Emerson, Whitman, Oscar Wilde, and Charles Darwin; and the last, tributes to Cuban heroes, a noble essay on racial relations, and extracts from Martí's correspondence and diaries.

At the risk of appearing chauvinistic this reviewer would single out in this short collection those essays relating to North American scenes and personalities as the finest specimens of Martí's literary skill. On the more Spanish American themes, and particularly the oration on Bolívar, one perceives that welling up of florid rhetoric and grandiloquence that so often characterizes Latin American utterances from the rostrum and in print, but those essays in which Martí describes and evaluates North American

personalities and customs seem to display to best advantage the acute perception of his mind and the clarity and vividness of his style. As a correspondent of *La Nación* of Buenos Aires Martí wrote scores of articles on figures and events of the 1880s in the United States, and the examples here translated include remarkably shrewd and objective appraisals of General Grant, Roscoe Conkling, Peter Cooper, Jesse James, Buffalo Bill, Emerson and Whitman, and realistic sketches of the blizzard of 1888 in New York, of Coney Island, of American prize fights, and of the Oklahoma land rush. In these word pictures Martí demonstrates his consummate talent as a *costumbrista*, a literary genre so widely cultivated in the nineteenth century Spanish-speaking world.

These twenty-four selections are worthy representatives of the great writer which Martí unquestionably was, and they underline the tragedy of his brief, hurried life which made his voluminous writings so episodic and fragmentary. But these well chosen specimens do honor to the translated and to the translator; if they fail to make known to the American public a truly great writer and spirit of our hemisphere, it will not be from lack of merit.

Irving A. Leonard, University of Michigan.

Traitorous Hero: The Life and Fortunes of Benedict Arnold, by Willard M. Wallace. New York. Harper and Brothers. 1954. pp. xv, 394. \$5.00.

This scholarly and interestingly written account of Benedict Arnold comes from the pen of Professor Wallace, who has previously established himself as an authority in the field of Revolutionary military history. Although the author asserts that the study may help in arriving at "a clearer understanding of the nature and motivations of treason in our own turbulent era," his comparison of Arnold with other American traitors and near traitors (pp. 317-23) would indicate otherwise. Such a conclusion, however, does not detract from the merits of the book nor from the reader's interest in the problem of how a man whose military contributions to the patriot cause were so outstanding in the early years of the war could so swiftly turn against that cause and cold-bloodedly set about the betrayal of his comrades-in-arms and his country.

Descended from a prominent Rhode Island colonial family, Arnold was born in Norwich, Connecticut, the son of a father whose addiction to drink brought poverty and disgrace to his family. Overcoming these handicaps, he was by the time of the Revolution a successful and prosperous apothecary, merchant, and shipowner at New Haven and was happily married to the daughter of one of the most respected citizens of that town.

A radical patriot in the disputes with Great Britain, Arnold had a brilliant record of military achievement at Ticonderoga and Quebec, on Lake Champlain, and in the Saratoga campaign. He had likewise become embroiled in bitter disputes with other officers and with Congress and had been unjustly deprived of merited promotions. Appointed military commander of Philadelphia after the British evacuation in 1778, he soon became involved in a series of speculative and unprofitable enterprises and in a bitter quarrel with the Executive Council of Pennsylvania. Eventually,

he underwent a court-martial and was reprimanded for using public property for personal profit. During these same turbulent years he took as his second wife (his first had died in 1776) eighteen-year-old Peggy Shippen, who had enjoyed a gay social season during the British occupation of Philadelphia.

Desperately in need of money and outraged by his treatment by the Pennsylvania Council and Congress, Arnold began his intrigues with the British in the spring of 1779 with his wife participating wholeheartedly. Professor Wallace concludes that Arnold turned traitor not primarily for money, though he profited handsomely, but mainly from an exaggerated sense of personal injury. Arnold's self-centered arrogance and smug conviction of his own rectitude prevented him from surmounting these slights as Washington and other leaders did.

Following his illuminating discussion of Arnold's treason, the author devotes four chapters of the book to describing Arnold's career after joining the British, an evaluation of his military prowess, and a comparison of Arnold with other American traitors. It might be noted that Professor Wallace finds no convincing evidence that Arnold, always certain of his own righteousness, ever gave any signs of regret for his actions.

The author writes in a clear and interesting style, sometimes permitting himself to fill out the details of certain incidents from his imagination, but he never distorts the evidence of his sources. He does not hesitate to condemn Arnold, but he is scrupulously fair in bringing out his good points. The book will be of great interest to the layman and a valuable addition to the reading lists of teachers who are seeking volumes which combine a high degree of readability with sound scholarship. It is attractively printed and bound, and the text is supplemented by excellent maps and illustrations, four appendices elaborating on minor points, a select bibliography, and an unusually good index.

Sanford W. Higginbotham, University of Mississippi.

La Conquistadora, The Autobiography of an Ancient Statue, by Fray Angelico Chavez. St. Anthony Guild Press. Paterson, N. Jersey. 1954. pp. viii, 134. \$2.00.

Can history put on a new dress? Here's a new kind of history, authentic, rich and jolly. Perhaps history has learned to do this from *La Conquistadora*, who had almost as many changes of wardrobe as Good (?) Queen Bess.

Fray Chavez has opened the closet and exposed to the world a wooden statue, an idol, that his ancestors and all the other Catholics of New Mexico have been worshiping here in what is now the United States from before the Maryland Catholic colony came into existence. And the idol speaks; this is its autobiography, charming indeed, fascinating; if you begin to look at it you will be held enraptured.

But who can say now that Catholics are not idolaters, when we see them even today with full hierarchical approbation worshiping a block of wood, that carried the title "Our Lady of the Assumption," then "The Immaculate Conception" and finally "Our Lady of the Rosary," but always popularly known as *La Conquistadora*. She was the Queen of the Kingdom of New Mexico and of all its conquistadors, she—this block of wood!

We have heard it said that "Unless you become as little children you shall not enter the kingdom of heaven." This volume brings you into the midst of just such little children; the block of wood is their toy, much as our worshipful Liberty Bell was the toy of the American children when it made the circuit of the nation a few years ago. The Bell was not Liberty, neither was the statue the Mother of God, but whereas Liberty was unsubstantial, the Mother of God certainly took part in very truth in the playing and the merriment of her children.

If you care to learn the heart of old New Mexico, take this volume.

Laurence J. Kenny, Saint Louis University.

The Nebraska Question, 1852-1854, by James C. Malin. Ann Arbor. Edwards Brothers, Inc. 1953. pp. ix, 455.

Probably no contemporary historian is quite so well informed on the history of the great prairie land of the United States as Professor Malin of the University of Kansas. His *Grassland Historical Studies*, of which this current volume is an integral part, promises to be the most definitive study yet made of the area. In *The Nebraska Question* "there is no pretense of having settled definitely the major questions." True to his word, the author has in fact reopened the entire history of the Kansas-Nebraska period. He questions the role of the slavery issue in the problem, and his evidence would tend to "reduce relatively" its importance. His new evidence would seem to require a re-examination of the motives and the role of Stephen Douglas.

Malin considers the rise of the slavery issue until it consumed all other considerations in regard to Nebraska and Kansas an unfortunate historical accident. Had the Mexican War and the subsequent controversy over slavery in the Southwest not intervened, the Kansas-Nebraska question could have been approached in its proper economic and technological perspective. Here is the essential point of the book. The author advances the idea that Nebraska was important because of the need to capitalize (for reasons of national interest) upon the new technology in communication and transportation. Nebraska was vital to the economic advancement and well-being of the United States. Some men, including Douglas, understood this. But the intrusion of the Kansas question into the picture distorted this fact; and the fulfillment of the original need was frustrated by fanatical minorities on each side of the slavery issue—an issue only incidental in relation to that original need.

The book suffers from certain minor mechanical limitations. The organization and continuity is not so good as one might expect; and the tremendous mass of detail compressed into a limited time space, no doubt handicaps the literary style. These criticisms, however, do not detract from the importance of the work, nor do they obscure the salient points raised by the author. Here is a challenge to re-examine the history of this important section of the country with the same pioneering spirit as that displayed by Allen Johnson, Frank H. Hodder, Walter P. Webb, and Professor Malin.

George Wolfskill, William Jewell College.

Arthur Pue Gorman, by John R. Lambert. Baton Rouge. Louisiana State University Press. 1953. pp. 397. \$6.00.

This latest addition to the Southern Biography Series presents the political career of the Maryland Democratic leader who managed Grover Cleveland's first presidential campaign and fought his party's battles in the United States Senate for almost twenty years. Rising to power in the conservative revolution that followed a short-lived Radical regime in post-Civil-War Maryland, Arthur Pue Gorman and his Old Guard controlled the machinery of the Democratic party in his own State, and at times on the national level, during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

From his appointment in 1850, at the age of eleven, to the position of page in the United States Senate, Gorman's life was taken up almost exclusively with politics. He had opportunity during the 1850's to watch the American political drama in one of its most exciting periods and to learn from such masters as Stephen A. Douglas and Jefferson Davis. However, his impressions of the experience were never recorded for posterity, and this dearth of information forces the author to pass over those years in a brief prologue.

Gorman in the late 1860's felt the full impact of the rapidly rising power of the Radicals. In 1866, as a senate officer, he had arranged for the ailing Senator Dixon to be present to vote in a vain attempt to sustain President Johnson's veto of the Civil Rights Bill. For this, Gorman was dismissed from his service in the senate. Johnson compensated him with an appointment to be collector of internal revenue in Maryland, but the Grant Administration promptly replaced him in 1869 with a solid Republican.

In Maryland, meanwhile, where Democrats had succeeded in overthrowing the Radicals, the stage was set for the rise of Gorman in State politics. Easily elected to the Maryland legislature in 1869, he joined a group in Annapolis who were to form the Old Guard. Chief cohort of Gorman in building and maintaining this formidable machine was Isaac Freeman Rasin who brought Baltimore's "city people" into alliance with Gorman's "state crowd."

Although the Old Guard never gained the notoriety of Tammany and other machines, it could trade blow for blow and match political cunning with its shrewdest opponents. When a rival Democrat attempted to wrest the senatorship from Gorman in 1880, the latter called an extraordinary party caucus to meet in Annapolis and agree on his election while his competitor and followers were holding a rally in Baltimore.

Such talent commanded recognition, and the party chieftains recognized Gorman's ability by naming him chairman of the National Democratic Executive Committee for the management of Cleveland's campaign in 1884. It was Gorman who skillfully countered the attack upon Cleveland's private life by ordering the unremitting emphasis of Democratic orators upon the Fisher Letters that connected Blaine with the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad. It was Gorman's idea to have a "stenographic trailer" follow Blaine—the idea that paid such rich dividends when it caught the celebrated alliteration, "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion." "Write that out!" was Gorman's instantaneous command when his watchdog recounted these words minutes later at Democratic headquarters.

In treating several controversial policies followed by the subject of his biography, the author explains but does not apologize. There is no effort to mask Gorman's fundamental opposition to Civil Service despite the vote he cast for the Pendleton Act. When his filibuster against the Force Bill finally compels Republicans to abandon the measure, Gorman is credited with preserving "hopes for future Democratic victories" as well as saving the South from the restoration of Federal control. His support of Senate amendments which mutilated tariff reforms embodied by the House in the Wilson bill was called "party perfidy" by Cleveland—a charge that occasioned Gorman's greatest speech in the Senate, defending the amendments as necessary to obtain passage of the measure and as consistent with the President's earlier pronouncements on the tariff. But, as the author well points out, although the logic of the Senator's speech was devastating, it failed to convince the West and South, or even the Maryland Clevelandites, and they vowed revenge for the restoration of duties on coal and sugar.

While one regrets the lack of human interest in this biography, it would be unfair to criticize the author for this defect; the sources on that aspect of Gorman's life were very meager. The book presents a fairly written, close-up view of politics in the late nineteenth century. In the presentation of this view, it will be illuminating and rewarding to every student of the period.

Thomas P. Conry, Xavier University.

Mexican Revolution—Genesis under Madero, by Charles Curtis Cumberland.
Austin. University of Texas Press. 1952. pp. 298. \$5.00.

It is now over forty years since the Mexican Revolution got under way. Adequate time has elapsed to allow a considerable estimate at least of the earlier phases of the movement. The present study is one of the first in English to attempt the sifting process which separates the valuable and the perennial from the chaff of propaganda and emotional opinion. The book is devoted entirely, save for a necessary introductory chapter or two, to an analysis of the Madero period, which came to an abrupt end during the "Tragic Ten Days" of February, 1913.

A fresh view of Madero emerges from Dr. Cumberland's researches. Ordinarily dismissed as a dreamer, a man who little understood the basic problems of the Mexican people and their deepseated hopes and desires, beyond getting rid of Don Porfirio, Madero has not fared too well at the hands of historians of modern Mexico. This book does not seek to make a hero of him, but it does leave the figure of Madero with considerably increased stature. Madero may not have been able to inaugurate sweeping land reforms or social reforms. However, it was not because he failed to recognize need for them. Rather it was because the forces against him were just too tremendous and often too proximate to be overcome in the relatively few months of Madero's leadership. Madero may not have gone as deeply in his comprehension of Mexico's ills as some of his successors, but he was not unaware of the fact that the displacement of Diaz was only the first step.

All historians, especially those "south of the border," will not agree with the author's conclusions; but this much is certain, that no one can or should write on the Madero phase without first weighing very carefully the evidence which Dr. Cumberland has adduced. His may not be the last word, but it is a weighty one.

John Francis Bannon, Saint Louis University.

Sports in American Life, by Frederick W. Cozens and Florence S. Stumpf. Chicago. University of Chicago Press. 1953. pp. ix, 366. \$5.00.

Though the authors, members of the Department of Physical Education in the University of California, modestly disclaim to offer their efforts as a philosophy of sport, they do come closer to doing that than to writing a history of sport in America. That is to say, their intent seems to be not so much to give this facet of American culture the lightsome treatment of Foster R. Dulles, but rather to explore the role of sports in the developing American character and culture, with emphasis on the 20th century.

They present the relation to and effect on sports of certain cultural institutions and agencies (such as the family, church, school, government, labor unions, humanitarian organizations, and means of communication and transportation) and of certain social-economic phenomena (such as industrialization, urbanization, delinquency, wars, and racial segregation). Consideration is given also to the positive importance of sport in the development of such diverse areas as the American language and international understanding. The authors, in the course of their study, probe sensitive areas and give reasonable analyses and solutions (for instance, in the question of intercollegiate athletics). They even break a lance with Toynbee over professionalism in athletics. However (to vary the metaphor) they will seem to many to have drawn a fairly long bow by equating professional athletic prowess (materially rewarded) with the aesthetical perfection of a Metropolitan Opera or a Carnegie Hall Symphony (similarly remunerated). In the matter of the admittedly debated question of the value of spectator sports, the authors present a reasoned case for the defence, insisting that such sports are "an integrating force" in and "cement" of American Democracy.

Readers with special interests may find some overemphases or omissions. For instance, in the presentation of the role of the church in American sports one is not surprised to find favorable reference to Episcopalian Bishop Manning or to the YMCA, but one is surprised to note no mention of Bishop Shiels and the CYO.

Martin F. Hastings, Saint Louis University.

CURRENT BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography is intended to be of service to teachers and students of history by presenting a fairly complete list of historical works announced or published since the previous issue of *The Historical Bulletin*. Many of these books will be reviewed in this or a later issue. Unfortunately sometimes the price and number of pages were not obtainable.

MEDIAEVAL

- Abelard, Pierre, *The Story of Abelard's Adversities*. Pontifical Inst. of Med. Studies (Toronto). pp. 70. \$1.00.
- Al-Bitruji, *De Motibus Celorum*. U. of Cal. pp. 180. \$2.75. This scholarly work presents a critical edition of the Latin translation of a famous Arabian scholar. The editor shows what Al-Bitruji theory meant and the relationship of that theory to astronomy in Europe during the Middle Ages. He presents the critical edition of the Latin translation of Michael Scot (1217) plus philological, mathematical and descriptive materials. In place of an English translation there is a summary and analysis of Al-Bitruji's system.
- Baldwin, M. W., *The Mediaeval Church*. Cornell. pp. 133. \$1.25.
- Barbi, M., *Life of Dante*. U. of Cal. pp. 138. \$3.00.
- Beahn, J. E., *A Rich Young Man, Saint Anthony of Padua*. Bruce. pp. 250. \$3.25.
- Bradley, C. G., *Western World Costume*, Appleton-Century-Crofts. pp. 459. \$6.00.
- Bryher, Winfred, *Roman Wall*. Pantheon. pp. 219. \$2.75. The author attempts a recreation of the conditions on a Roman frontier in the late third century, as the disappearance of roads, of peace, and of the Roman walls herald the gradually increasing threats of barbarian invasion.
- Cook, G. H., *The English Mediaeval Parish Church*. Macmillan, pp. 302. \$7.50.
- Contenau, G., *Everyday Life in Babylon and Assyria*. St. Martin's. pp. 339. \$5.00.
- Castro, A., *The Structure of Spanish History*. Princeton. pp. 702. \$9.00.
- Darby, H. C., and Terrett, I. B. eds., *The Domesday Geography of Midland England*. Cambridge U. pp. 497. \$10.50.
- Grigor of Akanc. *History of the Nation of the Archers (the Mongols)*. Harvard. pp. 180. \$3.50.
- Jorgensen, J., *Saint Bridget of Sweden*. Longmans. 2v. \$8.50.
- Kritovoulos., *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*. Princeton. pp. 222. \$5.00.
- Kybal, V., *Francis of Assisi*. Ave Maria. pp. 231. \$3.00.
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- Mediaeval Mystical Tradition and Saint John of the Cross*. Newman. pp. 166. \$2.75.
- Mundy, J. H., *Liberty and Political Power in Toulouse, 1050-1230*. Columbia U. pp. 414. \$6.50.

Murray, A. R. M., *An Introduction to Political Philosophy*. Phil. Lib. pp. 246. \$4.75.

Oost, S. I., *Roman Policy in Epirus and Acarnania in the Age of the Roman Conquest of Greece*. Southern Methodist U. pp. 144. \$3.00.

Pigott, Stuart. *The Neolithic Cultures of the British Isles*. Cambridge U. pp. 439. \$13.50.

Roeder, W. S., *Dictionary of European History*. Phil. Lib. pp. 316. \$6.00.

It is a difficult task to compile a work of this type; one must choose the topics to define and then prepare adequate definitions. It can hardly be said that the compiler has succeeded, because his definitions leave much to be desired. For instance: the data on "Wyclif," or "Thomas Aquinas," or the brief definition of an "Abbot" as head of a monastery! There is no item for "Parliament" or "House of Commons," on the other hand the information under the word "University" is quite lengthy and informative in comparison. There is no item for Florence, but Venice gets a lengthy write-up, although it is scarcely accurate to say that the Doge was absolute ruler before 1200. In general the reason why some terms are selected and others omitted is not clear, nor are the sources of information given.

Daniel-Rops, *Jesus and His Times*. Dutton. pp. 615. \$5.00.

Setton, K., and Winkler, H., *Great Problems in European Civilization*. Prentice Hall. pp. 649. \$5.75. This is a good example of a collection of very interesting historical documents which help bring both teacher and student more easily to the actual use and reading of primary sources. Unfortunately, it is difficult to write good introductions to such large areas of history as are contained in this work.

Social Science Research Council. *Social Science in Historical Study*. pp. 181.

Southern, R. W., *The Making of the Middle Ages*. Yale. pp. 290. \$4.00.

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Warmington, B. H., *The North African Provinces from Diocletian to the Vandal Conquest*. Cambridge U. pp. 128. \$2.50.

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This book narrates the history of the various stages in the development of the calendar as well as the various reforms. A large part of the work is devoted to the new movement for calendar reform.

MODERN

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- Cole, G. D. H., *Socialist Thought, Marxism and Anarchism*. St. Martin's. pp. 492. \$6.00.
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- Douglas, D., *The Huguenot.* Dutton. pp. 395. \$5.00. This book is an attempt to tell the story of the Huguenot migrations to America by means of a novelized biography of Apollos Rivoire, father of Paul Revere. Both as a novel and a history the book is weak.
- Faulkner, H. U., *American Economic History.* 7th ed. Harper. pp. 840. \$5.75. The seventh edition of this text has been reset and brought up to date. Some minor sections in the first part of the work have been dropped and revisions made in some graphs, maps and illustrative materials.
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